

The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY AND THE SOCIAL STUDIES

Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine

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Facts in History

BY CARL STEPHENSON, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

"One said it was a ship;
The other, he said, nay;
The third, he said, it was a house,
With the chimney blown away."

History to the uninitiated is what the history-teacher teaches, what the history-writer writes—a staple commodity, which can be bought either by the hour or by the shelf. True, like sugar, it may be adulterated, but pure history laws are more easily obtainable than pure food laws. No expert is needed, for ultimately history is only what every legislator knows.

But alas for the cause of purity! Although the acts of zealous politicians offend all historians, they, if put to it, could agree neither on what history is, nor on what it ought to be. And even if they did agree, their conclusions would unquestionably be damned by the sociologists. Indeed, one has only to glance through the books recently published in America to realize that the controversy on the nature of history, though aged, is by no means moribund. What with distinctions between old and new history, scientific and unscientific history, popular and academic history, history and historiography, even the sophisticated reader is bewildered. Does history go back to the schools of Periclean Athens, of Renaissance Italy, of nineteenth-century Germany, or of twentieth-century New York?

A Yale professor writes to show how historical study should be continued, a Smith professor how it must be reformed, a California professor how it is yet to be begun.¹ In and out of America books and conferences in half a dozen languages debate the question whether history is art or science. One President of the American Historical Association flatly avers that history has not been, is not, and can never be scientific; another eloquently submits that history, no less than biology, is based on law.² Finally, at a recent meeting of the Association, the accord of the profession as to its fundamentals is well exemplified by papers from three well-known members. Fred L. Fling positively demands a distinction between facts of the "sociological category" and facts of the "historical category"; Harry Elmer Barnes imperturbably insists that the historian must take his facts from all categories;³ and Carl Becker wittily demonstrates that the historical fact is a figment of the imagination.

Meanwhile, our classrooms teem with undergraduates, and their minds with alleged facts of history; candidates for advanced degrees jam our seminars, and their products our thesis mills, which continue to grind neither slowly nor exceeding fine.

The press goes on spouting histories, which are immediately seized on, to clinch their respective arguments, by statesman and preacher, propagandist and scholar, newspaper reporter and advertising expert. If history has a doubtful basis, many besides historians should be interested. What, after all, is the dispute about?

Briefly, the critics of history may be disposed of under three heads: those who take the facts for granted and quarrel as to which shall be selected for historical synthesis; those who believe that the facts are there, but assert that historians have chronically neglected them; and those who attack the validity of all historical fact. The classification is vague, but so are some of the authors.

For example, one constantly recurring allegation is that history deals with the unique: with the particular event which can never recur, with the individual man who can never live anew. And yet, since the days of Socrates, it has been an axiom of education that the unique is the one thing that we may never know. Again, we have the gossip theory of history. We are told that history is only "belief based on the testimony of others"⁴—a glib indictment recently repeated by F. J. Teggart, who affirms that "the 'facts' with which the historian deals are statements made by individuals in regard to the action of other individuals," and are at most "incomplete and of doubtful validity."⁵

Mr. Teggart's criticism, it is true, applies merely to the alleged facts now used by historians, not to the real facts that they ought to use. Though despairing of the past, he is not without hope for the future. But even this slight expectation of millennial certitude is taken from us by the brilliantly pessimistic Mr. Becker. Some years ago he wrote: "The reality of history has forever disappeared....the 'facts' of history do not exist for any historian until he creates them, and into every fact that he creates some part of his individual experience must enter."⁶ And recently he has reiterated his belief that "history is not part of the external world," but "an imaginative study"; that it "derives its form and value from the use we make of it"; and that "the historian is an artist in spite of himself."

Now this line of thought is a healthful reaction from the cocksureness of many would-be reformers of history, but at its ultimate conclusion our common sense rebels. If we cannot distinguish the substance from the form of history, the facts from their literary presentation, what difference is there between history and romance? Must we conclude with Max Nordau

that our written history "provides us with no knowledge," and that it owes its high favor only to "the love of story-telling innate in mankind?"⁷ Never! In spite of everything we *will* have our history true. "No fact, no history" has long been our slogan, and we cannot abandon it without protest. Indeed, so long as there are unquestioned facts of ordinary experience, and unquestioned facts of science, we want to know why there may not be unquestioned facts of history.

In common language *fact* means something "known to have occurred or to be true"; that is to say, an actual event or a generalization based on a series of such events. For instance, the sun rose this morning; the sun rises every morning. To make a philosophical or psychological analysis of these statements is no part of the present inquiry, which will try to avoid entanglement in epistemology. It is, however, necessary to remark that the element of certainty implied in the term fact always arises from the consistency of many observations. Without such a harmonious sequence, obviously, no generalization about sunrise could be made, but no more could a single sunrise be confidently affirmed. For if some morning I should see two suns, I should not at once believe there really were two; I should decide that it was a mirage, or that I was still drunk.

Thus our fact is a bit of consistent human experience. Let us take it as we find it in every-day life. To label it objective or subjective, abstract or concrete, hard or soft, is futile. Calling it a mental picture neither makes nor unmakes its reality. Our problem is only whether the historian can work in the same realm of fact as the scientist; not whether that realm is itself a bubble world.

It is, of course, a commonplace that truth in science is only a matter of verification. But to say that the data for any scientific fact must be derived from experience is one thing; to state that it must be an object of immediate observation is quite another. Where, in a given instance, observation ends and inference begins is always hard to decide; and, indeed, the decision is not usually made at all, for the determination of a fact does not depend on it. I cannot now observe my own experiment of yesterday any better than I can Benjamin Franklin's of the century before last, but I put faith in both so long as their results are progressively confirmed in the present. Furthermore, I may be sure that the sun rose this morning even if I did not get up at dawn—by observing the existing daylight. My certainty as to the earlier phenomenon is the product of an invariable relationship attested by my entire experience.

To know the past without recourse to superhuman faculties we have but these avenues of approach. To a very limited extent we may artificially reproduce phenomena for special study; when that is impossible, we are restricted to observing the consequences of earlier phenomena and explaining them as best we may from our present experience. The obvious advantages of the experimental method lead, wherever

it is available, to its exclusive employment. Unfortunately, however, men have as yet been unable to make worlds to order, and so perforce they have used the other method for studying the evolution of stars and planets.

Taking the data of the chemist, the physicist, and the meteorologist, together with the results of his own investigation, the geologist works out by inference the history of the earth. By the aid of geology the paleontologist studies the history of extinct animals; and his conclusions, in turn, help the biologist to determine the history of existing species. Without the approved practice of arguing by analogy from the phenomena of today to those of yesterday, these sciences could never have attained their present stage of excellence.

Thus the history of man cannot differ from the so-called natural sciences merely because it deals with bygone events which can never be recalled for examination. Nor are the two rigorously distinguished by the experimental method; for so far as that method is concerned, many scientists share the historian's disability. And yet even the superficial reader feels that there is a radical difference: science may have precision and majesty, but history has human interest. This popular impression is justified. The natural sciences, as E. W. Hobson so clearly brought out in the Gifford Lectures for 1921-22, consider only such phenomena as the normal observer can perceive in the physical world, and have nothing to do with states of mind.⁸ In history and the social studies, on the other hand, introspective factors cannot be excluded and may even be regarded as dominant. This is a point of extreme significance, but does it mean that there are no historic facts in the scientific sense? A moment's thought will hardly bear out such a contention.

Some historical sources obviously supply us with information as sure as any of which we are cognizant. Take for example such a simple thing as a human footprint, the mute eloquence of which has been recognized from time immemorial. Common sense leads us to infer a foot from a footprint, whether made last night or a million years ago. The track of a pterodactyl gives us a fact of paleontology; the track of a man a fact of history. Our classification is a mere matter of convenience and does not affect the certitude of the deduction. In the same way the mind inevitably leaps from the pot to the potter, from the spear to the spearman, from the building to the builder, from art to the artist. Here are more facts. Although archaeology may have romantic appeal, it is not sheer imagination. Like science, it is based on observational data which everyone may verify for himself.

Our primary category of historical facts may thus be defined as including those which an observer can immediately infer from extant sources. Such are, in the first place, acts of men directly attested by the consequences of those acts, as by archaeological evidence. To the same class belong acts of men known through mechanical reproduction—a source that

unfortunately is available only for the most recent period. For thanks to the invention of the camera and the phonograph we may truly review bygone events, see things and men who have passed away, and hear the voices of the dead.

Material traces of the past, therefore, may be described as direct sources, for they give us facts of immediate inference. Such data, moreover, are not restricted to acts in the physical world, but may also concern what are commonly known as mental phenomena. Every reader of adventure tales and detective stories knows how a mere trail may serve as the basis for a complex recital of thought and deed. Like the spinner of such yarns, the archaeologist also proceeds from the visible to the invisible. Being a normal person, he inevitably conceives motives behind the work of human hands. For what is a hatchet except something made to chop with, or a house but a shelter raised to live under? Without the ideas and words that make human life intelligible he could not even produce a catalogue. Yet he does much more than that; from the observation of tools, graves, and monuments he moves by logical steps to the comparative study of culture, religion, and government. And as he proceeds, he becomes ever more deeply involved in the mysteries of psychology.

So long as the historian studies ancient arts and crafts, cave-dwellings, battles, or bones, he has the efficient aid of specialists; when he turns to emotion, belief, reason, and impulse, he finds no definitive science. Till the experts agree on something better, he is left with his common sense and a popular vocabulary inherited from a dozen literatures. Nevertheless, although the historian's hypotheses must lack both strength and grace, the possibility of determining psychological fact in history must be admitted, for a wealth of material lies always at hand for fresh examination. Some part of this wealth, as already seen, may be extracted from material remains, but an infinitely greater amount is contained in written records. Documents, indeed, have always been the historian's chief concern, and the necessity now arises of analyzing the sort of information they afford.

To get a clear understanding of the problem involved, we must keep in mind the nature of scientific evidence. The ordinary fact of geology, we have seen, is one of immediate inference because it is attested by direct sources. But in case the latter have disappeared, the geologist is irremediably thrown back on reports of earlier observers. If, for example, he wants information about an island that long ago sank beneath the sea, he will probably have to depend on uncritical descriptions by chance visitors. So the modern biologist, beyond what he can learn from a skeleton or two, knows the dodo only through the accounts of dead witnesses. Such reported facts, plainly, can never be accepted at their face value, for their worth varies with the reliability of the reporter, which is often hard to determine. But however faulty the information, we must needs be thankful for it.

In the light of these considerations, the position of the historian may be readily appreciated. Though he too would prefer direct sources, he has to use indirect sources when, as is so frequently the case, nothing better is available. The distinction has not always been adequately recognized, but it is fundamental for historical scholarship. Direct sources give us data of the first category—facts of immediate inference, which may be verified by anyone who cares to take the pains. Indirect sources give us data of the second category—reported facts, the authenticity of which is not self-evident. Whether the testimony is oral, written, or otherwise recorded does not matter in the least; if the information comes solely through the mediation of another's mind, it must always remain a matter of secondary knowledge. To estimate its worth we have only one possible method: we test the honesty and accuracy of the authority by comparing his reports with what we can learn independently of him. Evaluation of sources is the essence of historical research.

It follows, therefore, that material remains and mechanical reproductions, so far as they give us anything, give data of the first category, but what may be called intellectual remains and artistic reproductions supply data of both categories. To make this plain, let us take the instance of an excavator who digs up the clay image of a man with a dog's head. Do we at once affirm that such a creature actually lived and had his portrait made? Of course not, for with our faith in the laws of science, we say that a monster of that sort was biologically impossible. Nevertheless, we do affirm two facts: that somebody shaped the image, and that the artist imagined the creature in order to reproduce it. We are perhaps led to guess that the figure was an idol representing some local god, but that is mere hypothesis, which may or may not be verified by further research.

Suppose, however, that the image is of a dog. Nothing in our experience forbids our believing that the artist was acquainted with real dogs, but that he saw and tried to copy any one particular animal must always remain doubtful. We can never get any closer to the original than the crude image made by the primitive sculptor. Thus, also, when we observe David's painting of Napoleon crossing the Alps, we may learn much of David, but little either of Napoleon or of the Alps. For such matters the picture is only an indirect source, the value of which must be tested by external standards or remain unknown.

Now, finally, let us take a writing. At the outset we have one certain fact based on direct observation: that somebody wrote it. Nor is that an idle triviality. Starting with the certainties of authorship, specialists in palaeography and diplomatics have worked out rules by which the historian may date his documents as surely as the archaeologist may his ruins or the geologist his strata. This is the external criticism of the textbooks; but we have facts equally certain from internal criticism. With its authenticity

established, the American Declaration of Independence proves the fact of such declaration, for there it is. Nor can we have any doubt as to what authority issued it, when it was done, or who signed it. Documents, evidently, may establish acts of men at least when the document is the act itself or an inseparable part of it.

All writings, furthermore, testify as to the character, education, and opinions of the authors. We may or may not accept as true the allegations of British misdoing in the Declaration of Independence, but we must accept them as an effort to justify the American cause. And without believing in the Lockian theory of the social contract, we may still know that the men of '76 believed in it. It is therefore plain that a literary composition, like a painting, may be at once a direct and an indirect source: direct for those facts which observation can unquestionably deduce from it, indirect for those which it states on the authority of the author. Even when Benvenuto Cellini tells of his own acts, his own thoughts, and his own virtues, his memoirs are an indirect source, for we have only his word for them. But though his book is a tissue of arrant falsehoods, the fact remains that Benvenuto was a gorgeous and captivating liar.

Since the reporters of alleged facts are legion and vary all the way from the anonymous compiler of a government record to the exuberant writer of today's best-seller, no simple gauge of merit has been invented for the use of the amateur. To judge the reliability of an authority, however plausible, is no easy matter, for it involves the exhaustive study of all pertinent sources. Description of the technique of historical research can form no part of this brief paper, but its ultimate aim should be apparent—as completely as possible to establish the facts. And facts, it is submitted, can never be established merely on authority. One photograph is worth more as evidence than the unanimous testimony of a dozen eye-witnesses.

Now if the foregoing analysis is correct, it is not impossible to draw far-reaching conclusions as to the nature of historical study. For one thing, certainty—in so far as it is humanly attainable—may be attained in history. In proportion as a given piece of work is based on facts of immediate inference, its results will be sure. On the other hand, to the degree that it rests on reported facts, conclusions may be stated only as more or less probable.

Of high rank in point of certainty should be the history of material culture, since it is so largely deduced from archaeological remains, and the history of institutions, which is so extensively derived from official acts and impersonal records. Lowest in the scale must inevitably stand the history of events, for the details that crammed the texts of a generation ago are pre-eminently the mere allegations of chroniclers. Most of the moving drama of yesterday is irretrievably gone. What seemed so clear to the eyes of beholders comes down to us a meagre jumble of distorted memories. And yet, strangely enough,

some few parts of that drama, which were hid from contemporaries, are marvelously revealed to us. For the history of opinions we have the best conceivable source—the opinions themselves, deliberately formed and indelibly recorded. Even that intangible thing called human personality may keep the freshness of youth through untold centuries. For, thanks to the magic of the written word, which of us does not know Samuel Pepys, and perhaps better than his wife knew him?

The range of historical fact is limited, but it is limited by the possibility of verification, not by a barrier of time. In history, as in science, verification ultimately rests on observation. When in the seventeenth century a few scholars, instead of believing what had been taught for some hundreds or thousands of years, opened their eyes and looked about them, modern science began. And it is not far wrong to say that history was reborn when, about the same time, Jean Mabillon first formulated rules for the critical study of documentary sources. Since then the arguments of the reputable historian have been presented, neither as articles of faith nor as exercises in scholastic logic, but as the inevitable conclusions of any thinking man who cares to examine the evidence.

But, objects the champion of intuitive history-writing, do not emotions also determine fact? They do not. Weeping at a play does not make it life; glorying in the Iliad does not prove it true. Cromwell at Dunbar may inspire one with admiration, another with disgust; but in either case the battle and the man were the same. Though the letters of Héloïse may invariably bring a lump into the reader's throat, the lump in his throat does not establish their authenticity—that is a matter of technical criticism. All of which is not intended to mean that there is no truth but fact; only that the truths of emotion are individual, whereas the truths of history, as of science, are impersonal.

Thus at every turn the conclusion is forced home that the aim of history is a scientific aim—to determine the facts of man's past. This aim, furthermore, can to a limited degree be attained by the application of methods in every way comparable to those employed in such sciences as geology. The historian, it is true, suffers under peculiar handicaps. The geologist, aided by highly perfected auxiliary sciences, bases his study of the earth's evolution upon an intimate knowledge of the earth's present constitution. But what historian, with no matter how excellent a knowledge of government, economics, and sociology, can feel that he understands man's constitution? When his own every thought and action is today a subject of violent controversy, he boldly undertakes to elucidate the thoughts and actions of men who died dim ages ago in a hundred strange environments. And with all his initial ignorance, he is compelled to rely on sources that are hard to interpret and harder to evaluate. Is it any wonder that his results lack the precision of the natural sciences?

Yet, working with facts, the historian must work scientifically—or cease to be a historian. For however artistically he may present his conclusions, his art no more makes them than Darwin's literary skill discovered natural selection. Writers indeed, as Henshaw Ward is so fond of reminding us,⁹ have often fooled themselves and others into believing that they can imagine facts. It is fatally easy, with only the slightest observational basis, to construct a charming mental picture and, in a soft glow of creative love, to reproduce it in the vivid symbolism of words. The unsuspecting reader, because he has little knowledge of the subject, proclaims the author a fine historian, when in reality he is just a clever artist.

Now to compose an epic, a drama, a novel, a sermon, a political platform, or a social creed may be a nobler ambition than to produce a scholarly

monograph, but no degree of divine afflatus, whether the recipient be John Milton, William Jennings Bryan, or H. G. Wells, can make history out of something else. No fact, no history!

⁹ Allen Johnson, *The Historian and Historical Evidence* (New York, 1926); H. E. Barnes, *History and the Social Intelligence* (New York, 1926); F. J. Teggart, *Theory of History* (New Haven, 1925).

¹⁰ W. R. Thayer, "History—Quick or Dead?" *Atlantic Monthly*, cxvii, 635 ff.; E. P. Cheyney, "Law in History," *American Historical Review*, xxix, 231 ff.

¹¹ Published in *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, May, 1927.

¹² H. B. George, *Historical Evidence* (Oxford, 1909), p. 218.

¹³ *Theory of History*, pp. 3, 28.

¹⁴ "Detachment and the Writing of History," *Atlantic Monthly*, cvii, 528.

¹⁵ *The Interpretation of History*, trans. M. A. Hamilton (New York, 1911), p. 45.

¹⁶ *The Domain of Natural Science* (New York, 1923).

¹⁷ See in particular *Thobbing* (Indianapolis, 1926).

Land Speculation and the Mexican War

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The cause of the Mexican War (1845-1848) was the annexation of Texas. The exorbitant claim by Texas to disputed territory was the more immediate reason which brought the United States into conflict with Mexico. An analysis of the vote for president in 1844 by States, the issue being the annexation of Texas, indicates it was neither a northern nor a southern nor a slave-holders' movement. The free States of Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, with an aggregate white population of 6,201,991 (census of 1840), voted for Polk and annexation, while the free States of Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Ohio, with an aggregate white population of 3,281,401, voted against it. The slave-holding States of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, with an aggregate white population of 2,489,352, voted for it, while the slave-holding States of Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky, with a total white population of 2,092,515, voted against it.¹ Undoubtedly, the strong sentiment in the North in favor of annexation came from the commercial and manufacturing interests. By the census of 1840 it appears that the annual production of manufactures in the United States amounted to \$370,000,000. It is probable that two hundred millions of this amount was produced in the free States, of which at least fifty millions was annually consumed in the slave States. "It is not too much to suppose," a New York newspaper states, "that when the resources of Texas are once developed she will consume fifty millions of manufactured goods. Texas is no doubt capable of producing 1,500,000 bales of cotton, the export of which will require 750 ships and 12,000 seamen."² It is, therefore, contrary to reason

and justice to treat the annexation of Texas, followed as it was by the Mexican War, solely from the point of view of slavery or the desire on the part of the South for increased representation in Congress. One does not enter this field with any high hopes of making new disclosures after the thoroughness with which it has been covered by Mr. Justin Smith and others, but there is another aspect of this movement upon which, apparently, they have not cared to dwell. The technique of historical criticism may be carried to such a point in assessing the value of historical evidence as to discourage investigation.

The evidence in support of the view that speculation in Texas land and securities was a cause contributing to the annexation of Texas is of a limited and inconclusive nature. But to discard this on the basis of historical doubt is not to give a complete picture of the annexation movement. While it is probably true that speculation in Texas land retarded immigration from the United States in the early years of settlement,³ the effect of this movement on annexation is a totally different matter. It is with this phase of the question that we are here concerned. Speculation in Texas land and "script" and other securities seems to have been confined neither to the North nor to the South, but it was naturally more active in the North, because of the greater amount of money available there.⁴ An attempt will here be made to trace the origin and development of this movement. Also, to show how this speculative fever created a desire in the United States to have this government sponsor the debts and other liabilities which the Texan government had incurred prior to annexation.⁵ "It is susceptible of the clearest demonstration that the leading cause and immediate object of this contest (i. e., the independence of Texas with the ulti-

mate idea of annexation to the United States) originated in a settled design....with *land speculators* and slave-traders to wrest the large and valuable territory of Texas from the Mexican Republic."⁶ Benjamin Lundy, abolitionist and author of "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," made in all three journeys to Texas, the first in 1828, and in 1835 he secured a grant of land from Mexico in the State of Tamaulipas. A circular issued by him with a view of interesting emigrants from the United States to settle there gives a complete prospectus of the advantages to be derived from membership in his colony.⁷ Although this enterprise failed, it is important to note his interest in Texas, for his knowledge of its early history makes his opinions on this period particularly valuable. His writings attracted the attention of J. Q. Adams, and the publication of his second edition of "The War in Texas" brought him into prominence as an authority on Texan affairs.⁸

In order to understand the force of this speculative argument it is necessary to review the early history of Texas, with particular reference to the system of "land bounties." In 1820, Moses Austin obtained a grant of land in Texas, with the privilege of introducing three hundred families within a given time. He died before he was able to carry out his contract, but his son, Stephen F. Austin, as the legal heir of his father, returned to Texas, taking with him a number of settlers, most of whom came from Tennessee, Missouri, and Louisiana.⁹ Prior to his return, Mexico had established her independence of Spain, and Austin was compelled to apply to the new government of the Mexican Republic for a confirmation of his grant. This was easily obtained and Austin proceeded with the settlement of his colony. This enterprise was so successful that Austin obtained the privilege of introducing settlers into other parts of Texas.¹⁰ J. L. Woodbury and John Cameron were granted a monopoly of all the coal and iron mines in the State for a period of twenty-three years.¹¹ The largest grants of land seem to have been those to Austin, Cameron, and Woodbury, that of the latter comprising an area about equal to Vermont, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. The spirit of speculation¹² was now aroused, and other persons called "empresarios" (contractors) were given grants, with a view of laying claim to the remaining vacant lands of Texas.¹³ The most prominent of these were Zavola and Filasola, of Mexico; DeWitt, of Missouri; Ross and Leftwitch, of Tennessee; Wilson, of Kentucky; Burnet, of Ohio; Thorn,¹⁴ of New York; Grant and Beales; Soto and Egerton, and a few foreigners. None of these, with the exception of DeWitt and two Irishmen, Powers and Hewitson, succeeded in fulfilling the terms of their contracts, i. e., introducing the requisite number of settlers within the specified time. Most of them before their contracts expired disposed of their grants to joint stock companies organized for the purpose in New York and New Orleans. These companies, referred to later, became extensively engaged in speculating with this stock and script, which they passed off as preparatory titles to land. The

terms offered to bona-fide settlers were very liberal. Their tracts were held in fee simple on condition of settlement. They were also allowed to import all articles necessary for their use for a period of ten years duty free.¹⁵ This gave a wide opportunity for smuggling goods into the country to supply Indian traders, as well as native inhabitants.

On September 15, 1829, slavery was abolished throughout the Republic of Mexico by a Presidential decree.¹⁶ When Andrew Jackson became President he immediately entered into negotiations to acquire Texas. In that year he sent Anthony Butler with dispatches to J. R. Poinsett, the American Chargé d'Affaires in Mexico, instructing him to offer \$4,000,000 for the purchase of Texas. Butler himself was a speculator in Texan lands.¹⁷ J. Q. Adams, in this connection, wrote in his diary: "I went and smothered three hours at the Department of State in rapid survey of Anthony Butler's letters....He says that he was an intimate and confidential friend of Jackson for many years, and that he was at that very time a jobbers in Texan lands."¹⁸ The abolitionist movement proper did not begin until 1830, so that at this early date it is evident that Adams was not looking for ammunition with which to strengthen the abolitionist cause. These words were written long before there was any popular or widespread interest in Texas, and sixteen years before its annexation to the United States; all of which makes the testimony of this leader, on the speculative movement, at a later date, more convincing. In March, 1830, Houston, as Jackson's agent, visited Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York with a view of obtaining men and military supplies for his expedition into Texas.¹⁹ In New York Houston's confederate was Samuel Swartout, another intimate friend of Jackson, who later as Collector of the Customs at the Port of New York was accused of embezzling nearly a million dollars.²⁰ Swartout himself was heavily involved in Texas land and proved himself to be a willing agent in forwarding the scheme of recognizing the independence of Texas with the ultimate idea of annexation.²¹ From all sections of the United States came protests similar to those voiced by Wilson and Postlethwaite at Lexington, Kentucky, September, 1836: "Listen not to the deceitful and hypocritical allurements of Land Speculators who wish you to fight for their benefit, and who are as liberal of promises as they are faithless in performance."²²

After the government of Mexico had refused to sell Texas to the United States slave-holders and land speculators set to work to form a state government for Texas with the expectation that an independent government would be able to nullify the decrees of the Mexican government, and establish slavery beyond the limits of Texas. At length, in the early part of the year 1833, they succeeded in calling a convention, and drafting a state constitution. This constitution made no mention of slavery, and it also attempted to separate Texas from the more populous province of Coahuila. For these reasons among others²³ it was promptly rejected by the Mexican Congress. Austin,

who was the agent of the Texans, offended the authorities in Mexico City, and was arrested on the charge of treasonable conspiracy. On promising better behavior he was released and returned to Texas.²⁴

In their determination to resist the constituted authorities of Mexico, the Texas colonists depended, as already indicated, on receiving aid from the North in the United States. Aside from the military aid which Houston sought, the great land speculators in New York and elsewhere were working for annexation. Their grants covered almost the entire area of the unsettled parts of Texas, Coahuila, and the territory of Santa Fé. These grants, as previously stated, were soon to be forfeited, as it was impossible to introduce the requisite number of settlers. Finally, it was decided that the only solution of their difficulties was independence, and it became their intention, in fixing the limits of Texas, to include parts of Coahuila, Tamaulipas (in which lay Lundy's grant) and Chihuahua. The grants to the individuals heretofore alluded to covered nearly the total surface of this extensive area. Of these grants, those of Zavala, Vehleim, and Burnet were united and transferred to a company in New York, called the "Galveston Bay and Texas Land Co."²⁵ One of the directors of this company was Dudley Seldon, who was a member of Congress from 1833-1835. The grants to Dominguez, Wilson, and Dexter were likewise conveyed to a group of men in New York, under the title of the "Arkansas and Texas Land Co." One of the trustees of this company, Edward Curtis, was, at a subsequent date (1837-1839), also a member of Congress from New York. Another company was organized at Nashville, Tennessee, and the grants to Ross and Leftwich were transferred to it on the same principle. A fourth company formed in New York at a later date, entitled the Rio Grande Co., agreed to colonize the tracts obtained by Grant, Beales, Soto, and Egerton.

These several companies²⁶ created stocks upon the basis of these grants, and threw them into the market. They also issued "scrip," authorizing the holders of it to take possession of certain tracts of land. This scrip was sold throughout the North. By obtaining from the Mexican government an extension of the time stipulated for the fulfilment of the contracts made with the "impresarios," these companies were able to increase their operations on a large scale. Thousands in various parts of the United States purchased the scrip issued by them, and were aware that a change in the government of Texas must take place if their claims were ever to be legalized.²⁷ J. Q. Adams, speaking in the House, May 25, 1835, stated: "It is said that one of the earliest acts of this administration (Jackson's) was a proposal that Mexico should cede to the United States a very large portion of her territory....It is further affirmed that this overture, offensive in itself, was made precisely at the time when a swarm of colonists from these United States were covering the Mexican border with land jobbing and with slaves introduced in defiance of the Mexican laws by which slavery had been abolished." This speech of Mr. Adams was translated into Spanish and published in Mexico with these introductory

remarks...."The speculators in Texas land at New Orleans and New York have conceived the project of enriching themselves by wresting from Mexico the territory of Texas...." A letter from a resident of Nacogdoches, Texas, in June, 1836, to the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, says: "Now, sir, as to the war in Texas; here I will ask Americans (except speculators) how many military incursions avowedly for the purpose of snatching Texas from its proper owners will in their minds justify Mexico in driving from its territories the pirates that would thus possess themselves of the country."

After the battle of San Jacinto, when Texas had established her independence of Mexico, which the United States speedily recognized, it is interesting to note that the whole vote for the president of the new Republic was only 10,084. "The national debt of this immense people," E. W. Goodwin stated in the *Tocsin of Liberty*, "is \$11,602,127²⁸...\$1160 to each voter. It is a very reasonable conclusion that the people of Texas are anxious to form a new connection in business, especially if the proposed partner has money."

The first Congress of Texas convened on October 3, 1836. In the following month of December acts and resolutions were passed authorizing Thomas Toby, of New Orleans, to sell land scrip to the amount of 500,000 acres at 50 cents an acre.²⁹ Mr. David White at Mobile was also commissioned to pursue the same practice. Henry Smith, Secretary of the Treasury of the new Republic, complained that these gentlemen and also a third, Mr. J. K. Allen, would not render an account of their transactions, and "pursued the unwarrantable course of selling the scrip at one, two, three years' credit."³⁰ The most important act of this session was one establishing a General Land Office³¹ through which almost everybody in Texas, foreigners as well, could receive from 640 to 1280 acres of land.

The certificates entitling individuals to this bounty land were bought and sold by speculators in Texas and the United States.³² Land speculation became the ruling passion. The "Commercial and Agricultural Bank," established in 1835, and the "Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Co.," which was given a charter December 16, 1836, became the centres of this speculative movement.³³ Acts authorizing loans and promissory notes were as unsuccessful in providing funds as the hypothecation of the land. But in regard to the latter it must not be supposed that the agents of the General Land Office did not make any sales. The difficulty was, as the Secretary of the Treasury explained, that when they did sell, it was not for money. Usually articles necessary for the army or navy were taken in exchange, on the basis of a specie value of 10 cents an acre. An issue of Treasury notes did not relieve the situation, but a market was found for them in the United States. These notes were issued in denominations as low as one dollar, in order that every one might have an opportunity to speculate in Texan securities.³⁴ Also, it should be recalled that conditions in the United

States, during the period from 1836 to 1843, were most favorable for this speculative fever. When Jackson began his first term there were 330 state banks in existence. Refusal to recharter the Bank of the United States brought on a scramble for its business and raised the number to 507. The removal of deposits, and the wild mania for speculation which followed, added 170 more. Banking capital rose from \$110,000,000³⁵ in 1830 to \$378,000,000³⁶ in 1837.

On November 1, 1837, the Commissioner-General of the Land Office reported that certificates to the amount of 26,242,199 acres had been issued. While Mr. Smith, the Secretary of the Treasury, had nothing favorable to say of the vendors of land scrip, his report of November 3d made a favorable impression. The Texans, he said, were enjoying a profitable trade with the United States. They had been exporting their land scrip and Treasury notes, receiving in return the necessities of life and supplies for the army.³⁷ But a short time later, in an apparent state of despair, he suggested a plan for paying all the outstanding claims by issuing notes bearing no interest. "This stock, created as above," he said, "would float off to the United States....fall into the hands of bankers and capitalists, thereby increasing a foreign interest in our favor; for it is with governments as with individuals, and I presume it is a matter well understood in banking transactions, that banking institutions will not permit a firm or individual to fail who has become largely indebted to them...."³⁸ On January 4, 1839, another law was passed giving away more land—to each head of family 640 acres and to each single man 320 acres. On July 11, 1839, General Hamilton, fiscal agent of the Texas government, negotiated a loan in the United States for \$500,000.³⁹ The money, however, was in the form of United States Bank post-notes, and their value was greatly over-rated. The largest single loan which Texas seems to have negotiated was in 1836, by General Hamilton, with the Pennsylvania Bank of the United States for \$400,000. This bank, of which Nicholas Biddle⁴⁰ and Mr. Jaudon, ex-officials of the United States Bank, were the directors, failed in 1841. When its accounts were being examined, an entry of about the date of its charter for \$400,000 was found for which vouchers could not be found.⁴¹

By November, 1839, Mr. J. H. Starr, the successor of Mr. Smith, reported that the national debt had increased to nearly \$4,000,000. But the fourth Congress was not at a loss for devising new modes of borrowing. Texas Treasury bonds were issued which soon depreciated to 20 cents on the dollar and Texas promissory notes were worth only 15 cents on the dollar.⁴² In the *Austin City Gazette* of May 5, 1840, Texas 10 per cent. bonds were quoted at 40 cents; 8 per cent. bonds at 35; promissory notes at 30 cents. By 1843, as nearly as can be determined, the debt of Texas amounted to about \$8,000,000. For the two years of 1843 and 1844 the imports were valued at \$1,157,708.35,⁴³ and it is important to note that nine-tenths of these imports came from the United States, and were paid for, if at all, in Texas security notes

or other evidences of Texan debt. All this was undoubtedly a levy on United States citizens, for Texan securities had no market in Europe. No one knew more of the financial plight of Texas than General Memucan Hunt,⁴⁴ now Texan minister at Washington, and the emissary from the Texan government who made formal application to the United States government for annexation.⁴⁵

In summing up the financial policy of the Congress of Texas, Anson Jones, who was the last President of the Republic of Texas, states in his memoirs: "The first Congress of Texas (1836) had committed the most woeful blunders and there had been much reckless and interested legislation encouraging speculation....I therefore....yielded my consent to let my name come before the public, for I desired to see these things remedied. Soon afterwards it was discovered that I was opposed to the 'Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Co.'....This I conceived to be one of the most corrupt schemes of iniquity ever sanctioned by a legislature and a president....Gen. S. Houston, then in the heyday of his popularity, had sanctioned it and approved the law chartering it.... I took my seat in the second Congress, September, 1837....The acts of the first Congress to which I had been opposed were: (1) The Texas Railroad, Navigation, and Banking Co.; (2) the location of Houston as the seat of government; (3) the sale of Galveston Island. These three acts constituted a perfect selling out of Texas to a few individuals. The Texas Railroad, Banking, and Navigation Co. would have been the great feudal landlord of the whole. Houston and Galveston were pretty respectable speculations by members of a legislature, but the other was a grabbing up of everything that was left."⁴⁶

That speculation played no part in the struggle of Texas for independence is set forth in letters by a "Friend of Texas" and a "Texan," written in reply to Dr. Channing's letter to Henry Clay on this subject, September, 1837. The general tenure of these letters is that whatever speculation there was, was honest speculation, but that this was a negligible influence on Texas independence, is proved by the fact, so these letters claim, that "scrip" did not increase in value after the recognition of her independence by the United States—a contention, which, of course, proves nothing. We are concerned with the motives for buying such securities. Among these was, naturally, the expectation of financial profit, but because the latter failed to materialize in an appreciation of this scrip is no valid evidence, to say nothing of proof, against the influence of speculation, whether honest or dishonest. It was the act of buying which constituted the cause. In the memorial to Congress on February 11, 1850, of those who had subscribed to or come into possession of a part of the \$5,000,000 10 per cent. issue of Texas Revenue bonds, it is stated that not a cent of interest or principal had been paid on these bonds. "We who hold them," states the memorial, "were not speculators in the public securities of Texas,....but were impelled by a sincere desire to aid the infant republic." That the price of Texas

securities cannot be used as an adequate argument for either side of the question is quite evident from a further study of the facts. In the Report of the Committee of Investigation, appointed at the Meeting of Stockholders of the Bank of the United States, Philadelphia, 1841, a claim of the stockholders for \$321,220.13 on Nicholas Biddle was settled entirely by Texan bonds and securities. The Committee of the Board stated in reference to this settlement, "Aware that the Texan securities were much below par in the market, the Committee reluctantly agreed to the settlement....in the hope founded on the general information, that the bonds might, at a distant day, be disposed of without serious loss." Was this optimism due to a premonition of annexation four years hence in the hope that the United States government would make good these claims? The Committee also settled a claim against Mr. Joseph Cowperthwaite for \$157,847, taking as part payment 350 shares of the stock of the "Commercial and Railroad Bank of Vicksburg,"⁴⁷ valued at \$35,000. This bank was heavily involved, probably at this very time, in Texas securities. Thus, in the midst of failure and panic, Texas securities, even in their depreciated condition, were not considered poor assets.

How far these banks and others were, either directly or indirectly, interested in the various forms of Texas indebtedness will probably never be known with any degree of accuracy, because very few survived the financial panic of 1837-1842. But on this point, J. Q. Adams, who is so often quoted as attributing the whole annexation movement to the slavery propagandists, said, in September, 1842, at Braintree, Mass.: "But there was another more hidden impulse to this extreme solicitude for the recognition of the independence of Texas working in the free States, quite as ready to assume the mask and cap of liberty, as the slave-dealing champions....The Texas land and liberty jobbers had spread the contagion of their land-jobbing traffic all over the free States.... The banks were all plunging into desperate debts.... Gambling, speculation was the madness of the day; and in the widespread ruin which we are now witnessing, Texan bonds and Texan lands form no small portion of the fragments of the wreck of money corporations, contributing to their assets two or three cents to the dollar. All these interests furnished vociferous declaimers for the annexation of Texas."⁴⁸

In Article V of the Treaty of Annexation it was provided that the United States should assume and agree to pay the debt and liabilities of Texas to the extent of \$10,000,000.⁴⁹ After 1841 there is no accurate report on the finances of Texas.⁵⁰ The figures dealing with the national debt vary from ten to twenty million. J. R. Giddings, of Ohio, speaking in the House, May 21, 1844, on this proposed Treaty of Annexation, stated, "The first of those objects in the Treaty to which I wish to call attention is the payment of their debts by the people. This is one of the vital conditions of the Treaty without which the people of Texas would not for a minute listen." It may be said, however, with some degree of accuracy

that Texas had pledged in one way or another 67,408,673 acres of her land out of a total of 203,520,000.⁵¹ In his message to Congress, advocating the acceptance of this Treaty, President Tyler pointed out in glowing terms the advantages to be derived from annexation.⁵² In the debate which ensued in the Senate, Senator Berrien of Georgia was among those who helped to defeat this measure. "Who, then," he said, "will be benefited in the South by the acquisition of Texas?....It will be the holders of Texan stock which is now comparatively valueless, but which is to mount up to par by our assumption to pay Texan debts. This advance, then, you see, sir, is to be paid off by those of us who are not holders of Texan stock, and the privilege of our contributing our proportion of that advance is the benefit which we all gain. They are the holders of land scrip or other evidences of titles to land in Texas. This is now worth some cents an acre. But if Texas be the Eldorado which it is represented to be, whether it is or not....the result of the ratification of this Treaty will be that Texan lands will alone be in demand in the market (the sale of them will, of course, be pressed by the government to enable it to meet its engagements) and the proceeds from them are pledged for the payment of the Texan debt.

"If these views are correct, it must, I think, be manifest that the South will derive no pecuniary profit from the ratification of this Treaty. Indeed, if this question is to be considered in its sectional aspects, it seems to me quite plain that the North rather than the South will reap the harvest of this new adventure in the new market which it would open to her manufactures."⁵³ This Treaty was defeated in the Senate June 8, 1844.⁵⁴

"The complication of this vast scheme....having its root in personal ambition, and in scrip and land speculation and spoliation claims....presents one of the most instructive lessons which the working of our government exhibits."⁵⁵ Referring to the debates in the Senate on the Treaty, Benton said, "During the whole continuance of these debates, the lobbies of the Senate were crowded with speculators in Texas land scrip and land, and with holders of Mexican claims, all working for the ratification of the Treaty which would bring with it an increase of value to their property and war with Mexico, to be followed by a treaty providing for their demands. They also infested the State Department, the Presidential mansion, all the public places, and kept the newspapers in their interests filled with abuse and false accusations against the Senators who stood between themselves and their prey....Persons employed by the government were known to be in the ranks of these speculators; and to uncover them to the public Mr. Benton submitted this resolution: 'That the Committee on Foreign Affairs be instructed to inquire whether any provisions are necessary to protect the United States from speculating operations in Texas lands or scrip, and whether any persons employed by the government are connected with such speculation!'"⁵⁶

The sentiment of the Democratic Party in 1848

seems to have been clearly in favor of Van Buren,⁵⁷ but Van Buren was opposed to immediate annexation. So the plan was developed to defeat the nomination of Van Buren and also Calhoun, who was for annexation, but who was not acceptable to the speculators in Texas land and scrip. Both of these men would connive at no scheme to benefit the speculators.⁵⁸ Benton, convinced of the existence of a gigantic plot stated in this connection. "The speculators had a difficult part to play....They were for anybody in preference to either (Van Buren or Calhoun), and especially for men of easy temperaments, whose principles were entrenched behind strong wills."⁵⁹

In the Joint Resolution passed March 1, 1845, annexing Texas, it was specifically stated that "Texas should retain all the vacant lands lying within its limits, to be applied to the payment of the debts and liabilities....but in no event were said debts and liabilities to become a charge upon the government of the United States."⁶⁰ This provision was, of course, a blow to the speculators, but the future proved it to be only a temporary setback. In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, concluded between the United States and Mexico, the former government undertook to assume the claims of American citizens against Mexico to the amount of \$3,250,000.⁶¹ "The largest gratified interest," said Benton, "was one which did not appear on the surface of the treaty, but had the full benefit of being included in it. They were the speculators in Texas land and scrip, now allowed to count largely upon their increased value as coming under the flag of the American Union. They were among the original promoters of the Texas annexation, among the most clamorous for war, and among the grateful at peace."⁶²

Whether Benton was right in attaching the importance he did to the influence of the speculators in securing the annexation of Texas, his testimony, coming as he did from a slave State, is certainly not colored by any abolitionist sentiment. In the Compromise Bill of 1850 the United States, in consideration of Texas's agreement to abandon claims to territory in New Mexico, agreed to pay the State of Texas the sum of \$10,000,000.⁶³ Joshua Giddings said in a speech against this bill: "Sir, the payment of this \$10,000,000....is designed to raise Texas scrip from 15 cents upon the dollar to par value....to rob the people of this vast sum, and place it in the hands of stock-jobbers and gamblers in Texas scrip."⁶⁴ It cannot be denied that Texas had a moral claim on the United States for the payment of her debts, and this sentiment was voiced in the Senate by Clay,⁶⁵ and in the House by Collamer of Vermont and others. "The creditors of Texas had a moral claim, at all events, upon the duties on imports into Texas. These duties have been taken by the United States, under the terms of annexation; and although there was a special stipulation in the joint resolution of annexation that these creditors should not claim of the United States government the payment of these duties, yet, it may well be doubted whether that agreement can release the United States from its moral

obligation."⁶⁶ This moral argument was likewise advantageous to the speculators.

Many of the anti-slavery writers and newspapers of the period attribute the success of the annexation movement, in part, at least, to speculation. "The leading motives which have led to the active prosecution of annexation," says the *Boston Advertiser and Patriot* of February 15, 1845, "have doubtless been partly of a personal character....the interest which holders of Texas public stocks or bonds have in the assumption of the Texan debt, and a similar interest on the part of many individuals in the United States who are grantees or purchasers of Texas lands, which will be doubtless greatly increased in value by the incorporation of the country with the United States." Of the truth of the latter part of this statement there is no question. In the report of the Auditor and Comptroller to the Texas legislature, November 12, 1851, the par value of the securities representing the total Texan debt was fixed at \$6,827,278.64; the "ostensible value" at \$12,436,991.34—an appreciation over par of nearly 100 per cent.⁶⁷ In a series of letters written to J. Q. Adams by "Lisle," pseudonym for Ellis, and published in the *Boston Atlas* in the early months of 1845, with a view of preventing the annexation of Texas, the following extract is relevant: "The certificates of land stock of some of these companies have been sold in New York and elsewhere, to an immense amount. For some years agents were employed to traverse the western States and sell their worthless paper at a cent, or even less, for the acre. Millions of it are now in the hands of our western mechanics and farmers, who firmly believe that if Texas is annexed they can sell the trash that has been palmed off on them at two or three dollars the acre. I have little doubt that in New York State at least one-tenth of the voters are directly or indirectly interested in land scrip, and that it exists in large quantities in all the middle and eastern States....When it is understood how much there is of this, some faint estimate may be formed of the immense influence their possession has had upon the late Presidential election (1844)."⁶⁸ In similar strain wrote David Lee Child, the abolitionist, editor of the *Massachusetts Journal* and an ardent opponent of annexation: "The grantees, assignees, and trustees⁶⁹ of Texan land companies filled this country with scrip. There is no doubt that editors, politicians, and even the heads of departments in the United States government engaged in this fraudulent speculation. Governor Burton of North Carolina, to whom Jackson promised the governorship of Texas,⁷⁰ had purchased scrip entitling him to 40,000 acres....also I have learned that ex-Governor Gilmer⁷¹ of Virginia is a Texas scrip-holder and a land jobber."

The difficulties in the way of obtaining material that is more direct in its actual bearing on this subject are obvious. Men are not prone to divulge the story of their financial successes or failures, more particularly so in this case, as speculation and politics were so closely allied. It is easy to belittle the importance of this speculative movement on the ground

that it was "camouflage," or something in the nature of propaganda for the abolitionist cause. Such a position is the result of a caution that is too extreme. The force of it was largely potential, but for this reason it cannot be claimed that it was ineffective. The burden of proof, if there is such, must rest upon indicative evidence, or upon evidence which is inferential in character. One would not care to make excessive claims from evidence of this nature, but, such as it is, there is reason to believe that greater importance should be assigned to speculation in Texas land and securities as a contributing cause of the Mexican War.

¹ An analysis of the vote on the joint resolution itself is even more convincing. Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky voted against annexation; in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee the vote was equally divided; all the remaining fifteen States registered through their representatives a majority of votes in favor of annexation. See also Garrison's *Westward Extension*, pp. 137, 138.

² *N. Y. Journal of Commerce*, January 30, 1845.

³ See an interesting article on this subject in the *Southern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 10, by E. C. Barker.

⁴ J. S. Martin, *History of Boston Stock Exchange*, pp. 28, 32.

⁵ See report Corwin, Secretary of Treasury, on Texan debt, 1851, showing an increase in the value of Texan securities of nearly 100 per cent.

⁶ Lundy, *War in Texas*, p. 3; also *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. 10.

⁷ *A Circular on Mexican Colonization*, Philadelphia, September 25, 1835.

⁸ *National Enquirer*, August 17, 1837; also Earl's *Life of Lundy*.

N. B. Italics throughout are the writer's.

⁹ Lundy, *War in Texas*, p. 4; also Barker's *Life of S. F. Austin*, 1925.

¹⁰ For map see Earl's *Life of Lundy*, App.

¹¹ Yoakum's *History of Texas*, pp. 126, 784.

¹² For this early period of speculation see *A Series of Letters*, by Mrs. Mary A. Holley, written during a visit to Austin's colony in 1831. Published, Baltimore, 1833.

¹³ *Quarterly Review*, cxx, II, pp. 333, 335.

¹⁴ Thorn was a close associate of S. Swartout, who is referred to later. See *Letters of Swartout to Thorn*, 1836.

¹⁵ Lundy, p. 6.

¹⁶ Later in 1829 Texas was exempted from the operation of this decree.

¹⁷ *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, XI, p. 354.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

¹⁹ Mayo's *Eight Years in Washington*, p. 75.

²⁰ *History of the Texas Conspiracy*, D. L. Child, 1845.

²¹ *Letters Swartout, N. Y., to Col. Frost Thorn*, Nacogdoches, Texas, February 11, 1836; also Corwin's *Report to Fillmore on Texan Debt*, 1851.

²² See Documents connected with Late Controversy between Gen. T. J. Chambers, of Texas, and Messrs. Wilson and Postlethwaite, of Louisville, Kentucky; 1836.

²³ Coahuila by her preponderance in the State legislature had almost entire jurisdiction over the public domain of Texas; hence and because she had little public domain of her own she was opposed to the separation of Texas. The people of Coahuila sold large tracts of land in Texas to their own people in order that they might resell them and better their condition. *History of Texas*, C. Newell, 1838, p. 41.

²⁴ Lundy, p. 12.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 17; also Jay's *Mexican War*, pp. 16, 17.

²⁶ Schurz's *Henry Clay*, II, p. 90.

²⁷ *Quarterly Review*, CXXII, pp. 340, 341; also *A Letter on the Annexation of Texas*, W. E. Channing, 1837; pp. 10, 11, 12; also Lundy, p. 22.

²⁸ An exaggerated figure for the debt at this date.

²⁹ Niles, LI, p. 187.

³⁰ Gouge, *Fiscal History of Texas*, 1852, pp. 56, 64.

³¹ For the land frauds of this office see also *Memoirs and Memoranda of Anson Jones*, late President of the Republic of Texas. New York, 1859.

³² Maillard's *History of Texas*, p. 348. London, 1842.

³³ Gouge, p. 60; also *Memoirs of Anson Jones*, pp. 18, 21, and 32 ff.

³⁴ Gouge, p. 71; *Shinplasters, Anson Jones' Memoranda*, p. 33.

³⁵ Report of Committee on Ways and Means.

³⁶ *Letter of Secretary of Treasury*, January 4, 1837.

³⁷ Gouge, p. 84.

³⁸ Gouge, p. 85.

³⁹ *The Star*, July 11, 1839.

⁴⁰ *Letters of Daniel Webster*, Van Tyne, p. 212.

⁴¹ Gouge, pp. 96, 98, 108, 196; Sumner's *Jackson*, p. 396; Niles, 60, p. 202.

⁴² *Austin City Gazette*, October 21, 1840.

⁴³ Gouge, p. 128; see also *Letter of R. J. Walker*, January 8, 1844, p. 22.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁴⁵ Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, II, p. 94.

That General Houston was willing that the government of Texas should be a failure after the follies of his own administration and the lamentable weakness of Lamar's in order that annexation might be thereby hastened was the opinion held by Jones. A frequent saying attributed to Houston, "I told you so; there is nobody but Old Sam after all." *Memoirs of Anson Jones*, p. 36.

⁴⁶ *Memoirs of Anson Jones*, p. 18 ff.

⁴⁷ This was one of the favorite gambling stocks in Wall Street. *Stocks and Stock Jobbing in Wall Street*. New York, 1848; p. 29.

⁴⁸ Niles, LXIII, p. 136 ff.

⁴⁹ Calhoun's *Works*, V, pp. 324, 329.

⁵⁰ Maillard's *Texas*, 1842, pp. 345, 348; also *Speech of Mr. Jarnagin in Senate*, June 6, 1844.

⁵¹ Niles, LXIII, p. 66.

⁵² *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, IV, p. 308.

⁵³ *Congressional Globe*, XIII, App. 702.

⁵⁴ Niles, LXVI, p. 241.

⁵⁵ Benton, II, p. 600.

⁵⁶ Benton, II, p. 623.

⁵⁷ Stanwood's *History of the Presidency*, p. 241.

⁵⁸ Benton, II, p. 585.

⁵⁹ Benton, II, p. 586.

⁶⁰ Gouge, p. 130.

⁶¹ Brook's *Mexican War*, App., p. 551.

⁶² Benton, II, p. 710; also Van Tyne's *Letters of Webster*, p. 300.

⁶³ *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, p. 108.

⁶⁴ *Speech in the House*, August 12, 1850.

⁶⁵ *Speech in the Senate*, May 29, 1850.

⁶⁶ *Speech by Mr. Pearce, of Maryland, in Senate*, August 12, 1850.

⁶⁷ See *Report of Corwin to Fillmore on Texan debt*, 1851, *Bankers' Magazine*, Vol. 10, p. 143.

⁶⁸ Gen. Wm. H. Sumner, of Boston, was at one time a trustee of the "Galveston Bay and Texas Land Co.," which was extensively engaged in these speculations.

⁶⁹ See *Senate Documents 28th Congress*, Vol. V, p. 132.

⁷⁰ See also *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, III, p. 115; also *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. 10, p. 316.

Rome and the Unification of the Ancient World

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SIGNIFICANCE OF ROME

Few travelers from America can visit Europe without being impressed with the extent ancient Rome stamped its character on the peoples it ruled. The protecting walls in Britain, historic highways, towns bearing the names of camps, mosaics and stores of coins turned up in many places, remind us—apart from the Latin element in the language and the form of organization and ritual of the ancient church—that Rome held sway in the early Christian centuries. In the Romance countries the impression is even more vivid. Here the material remains, the rebuilt temples, the bridges, many a walled town, the names of colonies, the language, are lively witnesses to the fact that Gaul and Spain and distant Rumania were provinces of an ancient empire. Even in the near East where Rome had the Greeks and Orientals as rivals, we find the traces of the Roman period in such structures as the temple in the ninth city at Troy or the immense theatre at Miletus. The individual who wishes to comprehend at all adequately the civilization of the present day must include in his studies the history of ancient Rome.

When, however, one attempts to survey the large store of information available on this subject, one feels the need of a guidebook which would serve to indicate the more significant features and explain the reasons for counting them important. This is all the more desirable because it is peculiarly easy to read the history of a country and, like Watson in the Sherlock Holmes stories, "miss all the essential details." The mere narrative of the events in the story of Rome is interesting, but it needs to be treated in its causal relations to bring out their meaning and to reveal their significance in modern life. In this regard Virgil seems to have had the right instinct when he summed up the mission of Rome in the lines Anchises addressed to Aeneas in the realm of the dead:

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hae tibi erunt artes, pacique imponere morem,
Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos."

Or, in the words of Ballard:

"Thine be the care, O Rome, to subdue the whole world to thine empire;

"These be the arts for thee, the order of peace to establish,

"Them that are vanquished to spare, and them that are haughty to humble."

Rome's chief claim to fame was her conquest and unification of the ancient Mediterranean world. From Trajan to Dante the spell of the Roman name remained, amid all the disorder attendant on political conflict and religious discord. The social and cultural solidarity which was developed under the empire has not since been lost, but forms the foundation of

modern civilization. The heritage of the Orient and of Greece has been handed down to us, altered, and reshaped by Rome. That it was preserved at all is due to the fact that it was recast in a form intelligible to the world and that Rome taught later peoples to appreciate the gifts of Athens and Jerusalem. The history of Rome gathers, therefore, about these two developments, the process by which the ancient world was unified and the manner in which the culture was transformed and made available for the spiritual food of future generations.

ROME'S EXPANSION

The story of the expansion of Rome is particularly instructive in three ways. It reveals the evolution of an imperialistic state. It illustrates the operation of political and economic forces on a large scale. It throws light on a multitude of modern problems of like, if not of identical, nature. Rome did not start out to conquer the inhabited world. She was merely a small Latin town, thrown into contact with a higher civilization. In her relations with her neighbors she showed no especial genius, except perhaps a more persistent following of a traditional policy. The early wars led the city to unite the Latin towns and to permit some of them to become Roman. This incorporation of subject communities into the state was an element of strength in later days. Weakening of foes with a stubborn resolution not to yield territory once won made Rome the mistress of Central Italy about the time the Greeks first began to notice the city in their writings. A comparison of the methods used by Rome and by Syracuse in the fourth century when dealing with subject peoples gives the credit for brilliance to the Greek city and that for permanence to Rome. Our difficulties with Porto Ricans and Filipinos reveal the weakness of the policy of aloofness and domination. As long as our possessions have no "stake" in our fortunes, there is likely to be trouble and disloyalty.

The wars with the Samnites, Ligurians, Gauls, and Greeks, were marked with less of military glory than of political sagacity. The building of the Appian Way to Capua opened Campania both to the armies of Rome and to the more subtle influences of culture. By encircling Samnium with hostile states and by founding colonies such as Venusia, the enemy was isolated and rendered impotent. We are reminded of modern instances, the Little Entente in Europe, and the treatment of some of our American Indian tribes. Sheer courage aided by the mistakes of Pyrrhus made the latter's campaigns fruitless. Napoleon had a like experience in his fatal incursion into Russia. In the case of Liguria the desire of the generals to gain a military reputation and, if possible, a triumph made wars frequent and pointless. An instance of deportation of the opposing community in this war suggests

the parallels in Assyrian history. The stories of these campaigns in Livy and other writers form a profitable basis for testing in an elementary way the credibility of sources.

With the beginning of the Punic Wars the student of Roman history comes to a point where the principle of defending oneself against inevitable attack by delivering the first blow is advanced as an excuse for perfidy. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to mention recent examples. The treatment of Sicily and Sardinia-Corsica is a valuable study of colonial mandates as well as of provincial administration. The occupation of Gallic territory in the interval between the First and the Second Wars with Carthage helps us to understand the problems of satisfying the land-hunger of the landless and the methods sometimes employed to gain economic advantages by fighting a "successful war." The lessons of Cannæ are less cynical. Even the unimaginative are fired by the matchless courage of Rome after her crushing defeat. The loyalty of the Latin allies was unshaken. Rome reaped the reward for her generous treatment of the past two centuries. In the effort to avert ruin the Aetolians were employed to keep the Macedonian king from crossing the Adriatic. In the following half century there were frequent illustrations of the working of the principle familiar before the World War and known as the "balance of power." Even such modern notions as the exacting of compensations for neutrality appeared in the Macedonian and Syrian wars. And so we could go on illustrating the way that Roman history anticipated the problems of modern international relations.

Another phase of the expansion of Rome is the establishment of a system to rule the newly acquired territories. Here even the mistakes are often instructive. Still more valuable is the study of the reactions of the subjects to their rulers, and of the slow development of a sense of administrative responsibility on the part of the latter. The customs of Sicily were taken over by the Romans. The tithes were continued; the courts held as usual. For protection against the Carthaginians a military force was maintained at the expense of the provincials. Cicero's orations against Verres help the student to understand the handicaps placed on the subject population and the dangers of the irresponsible administration. The problems of law enforcement in our large cities become more intelligible when compared with the conditions in the ancient world when it was more profitable to steal or extort money than to enforce the laws impartially. And the gradual improvement in the administration under the emperors may help to hearten people despondent of human nature.

The long continued foreign wars brought evils familiar to us. There was a displacement of labor and an increase in prices. The generals often showed more ambition than patriotism. Class dissensions arose. The clash of parties became bitter on economic questions. There was a growing disregard of constitutional forms and safeguards. Increasing disorders led to the rise of individual leaders who subverted the republic. There was some danger that the

state might perish from civil war. And if Rome fell into anarchy it might be expected that the subject peoples would either quarrel with one another or fall a prey to the Germanic tribes on the north or the Oriental monarchies in the east. In either case, the best of civilization was likely to perish. Rome had acquired the rule of the civilized world in a little over three centuries; it remained to be seen whether she could hold her position and what use she would make of it.

POLICIES OF THE EMPIRE

The young Octavian proved to be the savior of civilization. Shrewdly he played his hand in the politics of Rome until his rivals disappeared or were rendered harmless. The people were war-weary and, in consequence, eager to accept the leadership of anyone who promised them peace. Octavian succeeded in quieting the provinces and removing war to the frontiers. He restrained his ambitions to extend the empire, and busied himself in improving the government at home. His work and methods are valuable illustrations of the way a statesman tries to better conditions. The legates sent to the provinces were held strictly to account. The machinery of government was improved. Important special commissions were established to handle police administration and the food supply of Rome. Religion was encouraged and good morals were rewarded. Quite in the modern fashion the leading poets, Virgil and Horace, were invited to popularize these reforms, a kind of super-excellent propaganda. The emperor himself, although hampered by the need to maintain an appearance of conformity to the forms of the republic, kept the reins of power in his hands through his command of the armies, independent control of funds, mastery of the food supply of the city, and undefined authority as one vested with the tribunician power. The chief danger that threatened was a breakdown in the system at the death of Octavian. The aggregate of his powers was by no means assured to any one else. Hence the anxiety which afflicted Rome until it was known that Tiberius had accepted the burdens of rule. This problem of the succession to the principate is, perhaps, the major weakness of the state. Fortunately for the world there was general peace for the two centuries that followed the closing of the gates of Janus early in the principate of Octavian. Time was given for Rome to assimilate the culture of the East, to spread it throughout the empire, and prepare it for transmission to succeeding ages.

CONDITIONS FAVORING UNITY

The military power of Rome would probably not have been able to conquer the civilized world if the conditions for political unity had not been otherwise favorable. These are significant today as illustrating the fact that the formal intention of a people sometimes conflicts with its destiny. One cannot help but think of relations of the United States toward the European powers and of complications of the war

debt controversy. Among the narrowly political conditions which made Rome's task of unification easier was the merging of the Oriental powers with the Greco-Macedonian. The Levant had several kingdoms, but these were permeated with the same general view of life. They were not disposed to wage an uncompromising war against Rome as they might have done against a culture wholly alien to themselves. Rome was spared for a century the need of confronting an Oriental reaction. And when it came, the states of Pontus-Armenia and of Parthia were but second rate powers. The real conflict between West and East was not resumed until the time of the Second Persian Empire and the Moslem conquests. Long before that the work of Rome in unifying the civilized portions of the world and of developing a common culture had been completed. The several states of the Levant had shown a strong sense of the "balance of power" as early as the third century B. C., and were inclined to ally themselves with Rome against their neighbors. There was available in Greece a support in the Aetolian League, and in Anatolia in Pergamum and Rhodes. Egypt, too, was traditionally friendly. The Greco-Macedonian states, therefore, did not present a united front against Rome.

More important than these political conditions in creating an atmosphere favorable to unity was the intense development of trade. The products of the Orient and of Greece were shipped in large transports, to Carthage and Syracuse, as well as crosswise of the Levant. As the power of Rome advanced eastward, many merchant states found it more profitable to be friendly with this newcomer than to resist. Grain, slaves, and the articles of luxury were sold freely to the Italian merchants. The growth of the city of Rome helped to develop transmarine commerce. Roads intended in the first instance for military purposes bound the cities of the Mediterranean in economic and social union. The extension of the highway system northward to the Rhine and Danube valleys helped to open these provinces to trade. In the same way the southern and eastern highways aided the development of communications in the more highly civilized portions of the empire. By the time of Trajan a network of roads touched all the important provinces and made a common civilization possible.

Another force in developing a sense of unity was the extensive association of the races. The formation of fraternal groups among the several peoples trading at Delos illustrates the way in which the peoples of the empire came into contact. At Rome and elsewhere the inscriptions bear traces of families of mixed names. Intermarriage seems to have been not infrequent. The very fact that the Mediterranean world was largely under the control of a single power made travel easier, and the condition of a resident foreigner more tolerable. The lines of city-state distinctiveness had largely lost their meaning in the era of Alexander's conquest of the East. The idea of being a citizen of the world, popular among the Stoics, minimized the importance of local patriotism,

and tended to make men acquiesce in the rule of Rome. Travel and association were made easier by the fact that Greek had become the common language of the East.

GREEK INFLUENCE

The development of the influence of Hellenism at Rome was a further element in strengthening the forces of unity. Increasing contact with the Greeks of Campania and of Southern Italy paved the way for a general acceptance in the second century before Christ of a veneer of Hellenic culture. The dramas of Athens were translated into Latin, imitations were made of the other writings by Ennius. The soldiers who served in the wars against Macedon and Syria returned with booty and notions of a luxury to which they had been unaccustomed. The older ideals of thrift and simplicity were preached by Cato the Censor in vain. The youth were affected with the strange new freedom, taught by the philosophers. Conventional standards of religion and conduct went by the board. A group of leaders in the circle of the Scipios gained much that was excellent from the contact with Hellenism. Many others found only an excuse for gross self-indulgence. The whole period resembles life today and presents problems and partial solutions worthy of our notice. The selfishness and grossness of life of the Romans caused them to lose prestige and favor in the East. They did not help their popularity at all by the ruthless commercial spirit they displayed in their dealings with Rhodes and Corinth. As time went on and the uselessness of resistance to Rome became apparent, there was a kind of reconciliation. The children of Roman families were sent for advanced training to Rhodes or Athens. These brought home a sense of appreciation of Greek culture that improved relations and bettered the general tone of society. As they strove to apply their new ideals at home they found a need to modify the form. They tended to select the more acceptable elements in various philosophies. Cicero, for instance, who did more than anyone else to make Greek thought familiar to the Romans, was eclectic in his teaching, although he leaned toward the school of Plato by preference.

The example of Cicero in translating and imitating works of Hellenism was followed by many others at Rome. Their writings form no inconsiderable portion of the world's literature. Cicero heads the list; for he achieved greatness in at least four fields: philosophy, essay, oratory, and letter-writing. In oratory he was classed with Demosthenes. By the manner of his expression he has exercised a strong influence on the present day. In letter-writing he stands unexcelled even by the Greeks. Caesar won imperishable fame by his Commentaries or Memoirs on the Gallic and Civil Wars. He had as models the works of a group of Greek captains, among them the officers of Alexander, but seems to have improved upon them. Lucretius barely missed being classed among the poets of the first rank for his poem, "On the Nature of Things," based on the philosophy of

Epicurus. Virgil and Horace have had a more direct and lasting influence on later generations. They have served as textbooks in Latin poetry. The former, a master of "the stateliest measure ever moulded by the lips of men," profoundly influenced the people of the Middle Ages, by whom he was classed as a magician. The debt of Dante to Virgil is familiar to most. Among men of English speech, too, the imagery of the *Aeneid* and the admirable diction of *Pastoral Poems* and the *Georgics* are familiar in the imitations of Spenser and Milton and others. For countless generations of English scholars the verses of Horace were the acme of style. Even today the world could learn much from his philosophy of life, standards of form, and poetic genius. Of other writers there is not time to speak, except to call attention to a great service Rome did for Greek literature itself. The works of genius which the Hellenes created would have been wholly lost had not the Romans developed an appreciation of them and demanded their being frequently rewritten. This taste shown in the writings of Catullus and Seneca has led succeeding generations to go back to the original authors.

Another phase of Roman culture was the reduction to teachable form of the scientific and practical lore of Alexandria. Cicero and Quintilian summarized the principles of oratory. Vitruvius wrote on architecture; Frontinus on military science and public engineering; Claudius Galen on medicine; Ptolemy, on astronomy and geography; Varro and Pliny, on a host of subjects. Here, again, we are reminded of the fact that, broadly speaking, only the materials which the Romans paraphrased have survived to modern times. The nature of these adaptations was primarily practical. The editors considered carefully the merits and consistency of the materials they used and not infrequently improved on the more unsystematic originals.

ROMAN ART AND RELIGION

The same tendency appears in the fine arts. The columns familiar in the Greek buildings were modified to suit the taste of a people fond of the ornate. The Ionic and Doric suffered comparatively little change; but the Corinthian was advanced to a new popularity, and another order, the Composite, was evolved. The arch was developed to carry the burdens of wide spaces as in the baths of Caracalla and the Basilica of Constantine. It was employed in a more unusual way to carry the long channels of water for the supply of the people of Rome. Ultimately the Romanesque style of architecture of which the Norman is a form goes back to ancient Rome for its characteristic features. In this field, too, we are indebted to the Romans for preserving much of what was excellent in Hellenism. The masterpieces of sculpture which we are accustomed to call by the names of Myron, Polyclitus, and the rest, are for the most part copies executed in Roman times to satisfy the demands of the ruling classes for works of art.

In religion our debt to Rome is even greater. The unification of the ancient world made possible not only the missionary journeys of men like St. Paul,

but also the very spread of ideas and practices so that the teachings of the Orientals were familiar throughout the empire, and little communities of Jews existed as nuclei for the rising Christian churches. The customs of the capital city largely affected Christianity. This may be seen in the pictures on the catacombs representing the groping efforts of painters to depict the religious ideas they held. The same influence is manifest in the numerous non-Jewish practices associated with the festivals. The Roman Saturnalia loaned some of its activities to Christmas; the Lupercalia had its effect on Easter. The organization of the church was modeled on that of the Roman state with its elaborate bureaucracy. Finally, the ritual of the church was put into Latin, and the Scriptures were translated into that tongue by St. Jerome. It would be hard to comprehend the nature of the church if we knew nothing of Roman history.

ROMAN LAW

Under a Christian emperor in the East there developed the final expression of the effort of the Romans to unify their people. Justinian was filled with the desire to restore the unity of the state and church. He sent his generals to recover the lands in the West which had been seized by the heretical German tribes. He tried to force his subjects to give up all doctrines but the orthodox. In his time the last of the school of Plato wandered to the Persian court for refuge. But all these activities were transitory in their effect. The emperor is known in history for two other accomplishments, the building of the church of Sancta Sophia, and the codification of the law. The old distinctions had long since passed away from Roman and provincial, the unification of Roman culture had obliterated political privileges and distinctions. Julius Caesar, Claudius, the Flavians, and most of all the Severi had gradually made all the wealthier classes in the empire citizens. Caracalla took the final step when he issued his famous edict in 212 A. D. Now, under Justinian, the task was set before Trebonian and the other lawyers of the court to eliminate duplications and inconsistencies from the law and make it a worthy instrument of a great people. The Codex was the result. The genius of Rome ran true to form. It held the peoples of the earth under its sway, it reduced their relationships to order, it created a common culture and made possible its transmission to nations yet unborn. The student of Roman history would have to be very stolid not to learn from his contact with the city by the Tiber some lessons of political wisdom and practicality.

When Augustus set up in the Forum the gilded milestone, he erected a symbol more significant than he realized. He meant it to be the centre from which the roads radiated and bound the empire together. In a spiritual sense we find that the highways of Oriental and Hellenic culture met at Rome, and issued thence to civilize the modern world. "All roads lead to Rome."

How to Study History—A Course for College Freshmen

BY PROFESSOR HALLIE FARMER, ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN, MONTEVALLO, ALA.

"If the elementary school would teach these children to read and write, I could teach them history," sighs the high school teacher. "If the high schools taught these people to work, they could master the subject-matter of this course," grumbles the college teacher. History 151—"How to Study History"—offered to freshmen by the history department of Alabama College, was born of the conviction that this unending round of recrimination did not serve to promote friendly relations among teachers and offered no help to a college freshman struggling with the very real problem of mastering the course in history.

Furthermore, the study conditions which confront the college freshman are not the study conditions which faced him in high school. Gone are the study halls and the supervision which he knew there. Lessons are longer, assignments are less definite. Classes are larger and methods have changed. Even when he comes from one of the few high schools which attempt to teach students how to study, the course has a real value to the bewildered freshman who is endeavoring to adjust himself to a study environment more complex than any he has ever known.

"How to Study History" was offered for the first time in the fall quarter as a one-hour elective course. It was frankly an experiment and it has proven its value to such an extent that the department feels justified in offering it next year as a required course for all freshmen who enroll in the regular freshmen history courses.

Two interesting discoveries were made when the elective course was announced. One was that the poorer students elected the course in large numbers. Another was that many upper classmen were eager to enroll in the course, frankly admitting their ignorance of the proper method of attack upon a history lesson. We were forced to believe that students were better judges of their needs than we had given them credit for being.

The course as given consisted of the following topics:

- I. The Study Schedule and How to Make It.
- II. How to Use the History Study Hour.
- III. The Proper Use of a Text.
- IV. Other History Tools.
- V. The History Notebook and How to Keep It.
- VI. Collateral Reading—What, Why and How.
- VII. How to Take Notes.
- VIII. How to Write a History Topic.
- IX. How to Use Reference Books.
- X. How to Review for Examination.
- XI. What Other History Shall I Take?

The discussion of these topics was kept very informal and intensely practical. Students went from the course to actual laboratory work in the

regular history courses. The teachers in those courses co-operated by applying the principles taught in the methods course.

The course was purposely kept very flexible. It was not unusual for a teacher to say, "Please teach 'How to Write a Topic' this week instead of next week. I want to assign some topics." Accordingly the change was made. "My students are still confused about primary and secondary sources. Can you take a few minutes to review that question?" was the request of another. In this way the course was closely adjusted to the needs of the students as they developed from day to day in the classes.

At the end of the quarter students were asked to write a criticism of the course. Every one of them declared that it had been worth while and favored its retention in the courses offered in the department. Four students asked to have it made a two-hour course, but the others believed that one hour was sufficient.

"It has made history study definite. So many subjects are vague and indefinite." "It helps me to study other things as well as history." "The thing that I liked best about this course is that it is practical. We have been given things that we could try for ourselves and use if they worked." "I do not have to wait till next quarter or next year to see the value of this course, but I can use it right now." "It made my history reading a pleasure instead of a bore." In these words some of the students justified their request that the course be offered to future freshman classes.

When asked to state the one thing in the course which had helped them most, the majority of the class voted the study schedule the most helpful. "When you study as you please, you might not study," was the frank confession of one student, "but a study schedule gives you a certain time to study everything." "Before I made my study schedule I would have three or four studies to get at the same time, and I tried to study a little bit on all of them, and did not really get any of them. Now I have a time to study every subject," was the explanation of another.

Many students believed that the course could be strengthened by giving more training in the use of maps and in methods of taking notes. Still others said (*mirabile dictu!*) that a required notebook would make the course more vital.

Teachers who taught the regular freshman courses testified that the students who were given instruction in how to study showed a firmer grasp of the subject, greater confidence in approaching problems, and more power to organize their work than students of the same mental ability who were not given this course.

The Status of the Social Studies in the High Schools of the State of Washington

BY PROFESSOR READ BAIN, MIAMI UNIVERSITY, OXFORD, OHIO

The purpose of this paper is to present some facts regarding the status of the social studies in the high schools of Washington. Certain conclusions from these facts will also be ventured.

The chief source of information is returns from a questionnaire circulated among about 500 teachers of social science. This is part of a study of the teaching of the social studies to be presented to the N. E. A. in July, 1927. About 175 usable replies were received, which may be considered a fair sample.¹

The data thus collected may perhaps present a prettier picture in some respects than actual conditions warrant, since the teachers who answered are probably those most interested in the social studies and best prepared to handle them. Hence, if any of the data indicate low standards, poor training, or general dissatisfaction, it is probable that complete returns would intensify this impression. On the other hand, the recommendations and criticisms of teachers enthusiastic for the social studies are likely to be somewhat highly colored by their interest.

Lack of space makes it necessary to confine my discussion chiefly to such topics as enrollment, teacher preparation, obstacles to the extension of the social studies, the course of study, and texts used. The principal object of the questionnaire was to investigate the *teaching* of the social studies.

1. ENROLLMENT

From a consideration of the percentages of all high school students enrolled in the various social studies over a period of years, we may not only see the comparative standings of the subjects, but also some of the trends. These data are adapted and brought up to date from a 1926 master's thesis in education by Mr. W. S. Bowman.

In 1915-16, Ancient History had 16.7 per cent. of the total enrollment. This rose to 20.2 per cent. in 1919-20, and then gradually declined to 11.9 per cent. in 1925-26.

Medieval and Modern History rose from 10.9 per cent. in 1915-16 to 14.7 per cent. in 1923-24, and then dropped to 11.2 per cent. in 1925-26.

English History gradually dropped from 3.3 per cent. to .8 per cent.

General or World History has gained from .6 per cent. in 1915-16 to 7 per cent. in 1925-26.

United States History and Civics showed 12.1 per cent. in 1915-16, 19.5 per cent. in 1919-20, 14 per cent. in 1922-23, and was 16 per cent. in 1925-26.

Civics as a separate subject has a very variable record, being 5.2 per cent. in 1915-16, 15.8 per cent. in 1919-20, 4.8 per cent. the next year, rising to 15.4 per cent. in 1923-24, and falling to 11.8 per cent. in 1925-26.

Community Civics first appears in the curriculum in 1921-22, with .3 per cent. In 1925-26 it accounted for .5 per cent. of the enrollment.

Vocational Guidance first appeared in 1923-24, with .1 per cent. For the next two years the figure is 1.4 per cent. and .6 per cent.

Economics was 5.2 per cent. in 1915-16 and 5 per cent. in 1925-26.

Sociology first appeared in 1917-18, with .2 per cent., and shows a slow but steady increase to 3.6 per cent. in 1925-26.

Commercial Geography has made a slight increase from 3.4 per cent. in 1915-16 to 5.5 per cent. in 1925-26.

The same is true of Commercial Law, the figures being 2.5 per cent. and 3.3 per cent.

The following conclusions from these figures are tentatively offered; no opinion is ventured as to the desirability of these trends:

1. Ancient History ranks first in the number of students over the whole period, followed by United States History and Civics, Medieval and Modern History, and Civics as a separate subject.
2. The enrollment in Ancient History is gradually declining.
3. The same is true of English History.
4. General or World History and Sociology are slowly but unmistakably increasing their percentages.
5. The same is apparently true of U. S. History and Civics, and Civics as a separate subject, although the percentages for the latter are so variable that no certain conclusion can be drawn.
6. Medieval and Modern History, Economics, Commercial Geography, and Commercial Law are just about holding their own.
7. Community Civics and Vocational Guidance are lowest on the list in percentage of enrollment, followed in order by English History and Commercial Law in 1926.
8. There has been a marked increase in the percentage of students in the social studies during this period of 11 years. In 1915-16, only 59.2 per cent. of the students were enrolled in the social studies. In 1925-26, this figure had risen to 77.2 per cent., an increase of nearly 20 per cent. of the total enrollment.

2. SCHOOLS OFFERING SOCIAL SCIENCE

The percentage of schools offering the various social studies cannot be stated definitely. The figures that follow are derived from Bowman's study of 97 schools. This may or may not be a fair sample. In *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* for January, 1927, J. C. Malin reports the percentage of 600 Kansas schools offering the various subjects. These figures were

derived from investigation of the actual courses of study and so may throw some light on the validity of our sample. The first figure is for Washington in each case and the second for Kansas:

Ancient History, 56.7 per cent. and 51.3 per cent.; Ancient and Medieval, 10.3 per cent.; Medieval, 13.4 per cent.; Medieval and Modern, 39.2 per cent.; none mentioned in the Kansas report; English History, 19.6 per cent. and 2.3 per cent.; World History, 43.3 per cent. and 32 per cent.; American History, 100 per cent. and 97.8 per cent.; Community Civics, 7.2 per cent. and 14 per cent.; Sociology, 43.4 per cent. and 34.2 per cent.; Economics, 65 per cent. and 50.8 per cent.; Civics, 100 per cent. in both. In Kansas, 39.6 per cent. offer courses in Social Civics. None are mentioned in Washington.

The most outstanding differences are the great excess of Modern History and Social Civics in Kansas, and the great excess of English History in Washington.

If we compare the studies in Kansas, 1921, Missouri, 1921, North Central Association, 1922, to the above more recent studies, it is very apparent that English History is rapidly dropping out and World History coming in. If it be true that 19.6 per cent. of the Washington schools offer English History, we probably lead most states in this respect.

3. COURSE OF STUDY

The only social science required by law in Washington is one year of American History and Government. The Extraordinary Session of 1925 added to this requirement instruction in the constitutions of the United States and Washington as a prerequisite for graduation from all public and private common and high schools. In the high schools, this requirement can probably be met by the civics course and was probably being satisfied in the great majority of the schools before the new law was passed; at least, with regard to the federal constitution.

There are no definite entrance requirements in social science for admission to the state higher educational institutions. For entrance to the B. A. School at Washington 2 units of history are required, which may include economics and sociology. In the College of Liberal Arts, it is recommended that 2 units of history be presented. This has the effect of recommending 3 units from the history group, since 3 units must be presented from one of the three groups—Foreign Language, History, and Physical Science. More students select the social science group than either of the other two. Since about 50 per cent. of the high school graduates enter colleges, these facts may have some influence in stimulating social science in high school.

Many of the high schools require some social science for graduation, in addition to the legal requirements mentioned above. No figures except those in Bowman's study are available that show how extensive these requirements are. American History and Civics led, of course, with 100 per cent.; Community Civics was required in 37 per cent. of the schools

offering it, but only about 7.2 per cent. offer it; World History, offered in 43.3 per cent., required in 33 per cent. of this number; Medieval and Modern, required in 24 per cent. of the 39.2 per cent. offering; Ancient, offered in 56.7 per cent., required in 22 per cent. of them; Modern, offered in 26.2 per cent., required in 21 per cent.; Economics, offered in 65 per cent., and Sociology, offered in 39.2 per cent., were each required in 6 per cent. of those offering. The percentages of schools offering the other subjects are small and the percentages requiring them still smaller.

We may conclude, then, that the amount of required social science, in addition to American History and Civics, is very small in Washington.

We find the opinion of teachers and administrators, however, is that much more social science should be required. On the part of the teachers, this may be mere professional ambition, but the opinion of school administrators is likely to be less affected by this factor.

In a study of sociology in Washington high schools in 1925,² I found that 80 of the 112 administrators of accredited high schools who replied believed that at least one course in sociology should be required for graduation.

In the present investigation the teachers were asked what social studies they thought should be required. They mentioned 32. I shall refer only to the most important ones. No recommendations were made by 13.3 per cent.

American History leads with 45.6 per cent.; Civics, 39.9 per cent.; Economics, 35.8 per cent.; Sociology, 34.7 per cent.; World History, 33.5 per cent.; American History and Civics, 24.8 per cent. The only other subject that would be required by 10 per cent. or more of the teachers is Ancient History, 11 per cent. English History and Educational Guidance are not mentioned. United States and State Constitutions are mentioned by one teacher, as are Current Events, European History, Citizenship, Agricultural Economics, Business Law, Oriental History, Local Problems, and Pacific Rim. Psychology and Social Hygiene would each be required by two. If we add to the percentage for sociology those who specified Community Civics, Social Problems, American Problems, etc., the sociology percentage mounts to 53.4 per cent., which would place sociology second on the list, if American History and Civics be considered as one subject.

The teachers were asked what subjects they would discontinue to make room for the social studies they would require. The subject which has the highest percentage is Foreign Language, with 16.8 per cent.; Geometry and Algebra tie for second place, with 8.7 per cent.; then came Mathematics, 8.1 per cent.; Ancient History, 6.4 per cent.; and Latin, 4 per cent. General Science, Biology, Physical Geography, Fourth-year English, Manual Training, English History, Commercial Arithmetic, Latin III and IV, Modern History, and Solid Geometry are also specified.

The most significant thing, however, is that 12.8 per cent. say "None" and 49.1 per cent. do not indicate any.

The following conclusions are ventured:

1. Most of the teachers agree that American History and Civics should be required, although the replies indicate that they think the subjects should be given separately.
2. Over half of them think that sociology, social problems, etc., should be required.
3. Over one-third would require World History and Economics.
4. None would require English History, and comparatively few would require any other history than American.
5. Foreign Language, Algebra, and Geometry are regarded as the subjects that should be dispensed with to make room for the social studies, although over 60 per cent. would apparently add social science requirements without curtailing the present curriculum at all.

The state course of study recommends Ancient History for the ninth grade. The courses of study in nine other states—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Arkansas, Alabama, Texas, Minnesota, Louisiana, and North Carolina—were studied for comparison. Only one of them, Minnesota, recommends Ancient History for the ninth grade. Most of them agree substantially with the N. E. A. and A. H. A. Committee on History and Education for Citizenship report of 1918-21, emphasizing Community Civics, social and economic history.

For the tenth grade, the Washington course recommends Medieval and Modern, European or World History. Six of the nine states recommend World History. The N. E. A. Committee recommends Modern European since 1650.

For the eleventh grade, the Washington course mentions English History, one or one-half year; Economics, one-half year; or World History. Seven of the nine states suggest American History for this year. The N. E. A. report agrees.

For the twelfth grade, the Washington course recommends United States History and Civics. In two of the nine states, Louisiana and North Carolina, there is no twelfth grade. In six of the remaining seven, economics, sociology, social problems, or social science are recommended. This agrees with the N. E. A. report.

It is suggested in the Washington course that sociology may be given one-half year in the eleventh or twelfth grade to students with a good background in history and economics. It is also recommended that especial emphasis should be given to World History and an admirable outline is presented. But both of these suggestions appear to be more or less of an after-thought, since no fundamental revision has been made which definitely integrates them with the course of study.

In conclusion, it appears that our course of study is based upon the A. H. A. Committee of Five Report of 1896-99, rather than upon the N. E. A.

A. H. A. Report of 1921. All of the courses of the nine states examined conform much more closely to the N. E. A. Report of 1921 than does our own. When we recall that five of these states are in the so-called educationally backward in benighted South, it gives us food for thought.

4. THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Of the 173 teachers replying, 75.1 per cent. hold a B.A. degree; B.S., 13.3 per cent.; LL.B., 2.9 per cent.; Ph.B., 2.3 per cent.; B.B.A. and B.L., 1.7 per cent.; B.Pd., 1.2 per cent. The M.A. is held by 16.8 per cent., and 42.2 per cent. say they have done some graduate work. Four hold three degrees and one ambitious soul holds four. This probably gives a too favorable impression of the scholastic preparation of the teachers of social science in Washington, since the percentage of the ill-prepared would probably be greater among those not replying. Of those answering, 5.2 per cent. do not indicate any degree.

Of the 173, 53.8 per cent. majored in History; 28.3 per cent. in Education; 22.5 per cent. in English; 12.1 per cent. in Economics; and 11 per cent. in Modern Language. Nineteen other majors were mentioned, including such diverse fields as religion, manual arts, music, Greek, and Home Economics. The percentages in these nineteen subjects were very small, however, only four—Sociology, Political Science, Latin, and Science—being over 5 per cent.

Twenty-nine minor subjects were mentioned, only four of which—History, Education, English, and Modern Language—exceeded 20 per cent.

The outstanding fact from these figures is that such a large percentage of teachers of social science did their major work in English and Modern Languages. English leads in the minors, while Modern Language is third.

Of the 173, 54.3 per cent. have attended the University of Washington, 16.8 per cent. Washington State College, and the remainder 20 other institutions, 10 per cent. of which were west of the Rocky Mountains. The University of California leads with 6.9 per cent., followed by College of Puget Sound and Whitman with 5.2 per cent. Willamette University accounts for 4.6 per cent., and Bellingham for 4 per cent. All of the remainder are less than 4 per cent.

The number of quarter hours' training which the teachers handling the various social studies have had is given below:

In World History, of 42 teachers, 23.8 per cent. have had from 1 to 15 quarter hours. Only 12 per cent. have had over 35 hours. Four and eight-tenths per cent. admitted having had no preparation, 16.7 per cent. were ambiguous, and 14.3 per cent. indicated none. Forty-seven per cent. have had a methods course in history.

In Ancient History, of 39 teachers, 51.2 per cent. have had from 1 to 15 hours. Only 10.4 per cent. have had more than 15 hours. No preparation, 7.7 per cent.; ambiguous, 7.7 per cent.; none indicated,

23.1 per cent.; Methods course in history, 53.8 per cent.

In Modern History, of 52 teachers, 46.4 per cent. have had from 1 to 15 hours. Only 7.6 per cent. have had more than 35 hours. No preparation, 7.8 per cent.; ambiguous, 31.9 per cent.; none indicated, 19.2 per cent.; Methods course, 34.6 per cent.

In American History, of 109 teachers, 31.3 per cent. have had from 1 to 15 hours. Only 7.3 per cent. have had more than 35 hours. No preparation, 3.6 per cent.; ambiguous, 13.8 per cent.; none indicated, 15.6 per cent.; Methods course, 50.5 per cent.

In Civics, of 55 teachers, 49.2 per cent. have had from 1 to 15 hours. Only 7.2 per cent. have had over 20 hours. No preparation, 18 per cent.; ambiguous, 3.6 per cent.; none indicated, 14.5 per cent.; Methods course, 25.5 per cent.

In Sociology, of 56 teachers, 55.3 per cent. have had from 1 to 15 hours. Only 9 per cent. have had more than 25 hours. No preparation, 10.7 per cent.; ambiguous, 1.8 per cent.; none indicated, 10.7 per cent.; Methods course, 14.3 per cent.

In Economics, of 57 teachers, 56.2 per cent. have had from 1 to 15 hours. Only 10.6 per cent. have had more than 35 hours. No preparation, 7 per cent.; ambiguous, 1.8 per cent.; none indicated, 3.5 per cent.; Methods course, 14 per cent.

If we rank these subjects as to the preparation of teachers based on the percentage of teachers who have had 15 quarter hours or less of the subject, teachers of Economics are the least well prepared. They are followed closely by teachers of Sociology. Then come teachers of Ancient History, Civics, Modern, American, and World History.

It is very disconcerting to find that only 49.2 per cent. and 31.3 per cent. of the teachers of Civics and American History—the only two legally required social sciences—have had only from one to 15 quarter hours' training in the subjects they are teaching.

If we add together the percentages under captions "No preparation," "Ambiguous," and "None indicated," as an index of lack of preparation, the Ancient History teachers rank first in lack of preparation with 38.5 per cent.; then come Civics, 36.1 per cent.; World History, 35.8 per cent.; American, 33 per cent.; Modern, 30.9 per cent.; Sociology, 23.2 per cent.; Economics, 12.3 per cent. While the Economics and Sociology teachers rank lowest from the point of view of number of hours, they rank highest from the point of view of having had some training in the subjects they are teaching.

As to percentage claiming Methods courses in the subjects they are teaching, Economics ranks lowest, followed by Sociology, Modern, American, Civics, and Ancient.

Certain generalizations may be ventured from the above data:

1. About 95 per cent. of the social science teachers hold a degree, which is required by law.
2. Only one-sixth have the M.A. degree, although almost half have done some graduate work.
3. At least one-third have majored in subjects other than one of the social sciences.

4. At least 85 per cent. have attended Washington institutions of higher learning.

5. At least 40 per cent. have not had more than 15 quarter hours of the subject they are teaching.

6. The training of the teachers of American History and Civics appears to be particularly limited, in view of the legal importance attached to these subjects.

7. For all but Economics and Sociology, at least a third of the teachers appear to have had no preparation for their subject.

5. TEACHING OF SOCIAL STUDIES

The main purpose of our investigation was to determine how the social sciences are actually taught in the high schools of Washington. In this paper I can touch on only a few phases of this subject.

The subject which has been taught by the largest percentage of teachers is, of course, History, 95.3 per cent. About 50 per cent. have taught Economics and Civics. Nearly 40 per cent. have taught Sociology. But English, Science, and Mathematics have all been taught by over 40 per cent., while commercial subjects claim 28.3 per cent.; Latin, 24.8 per cent.; and Modern Languages, 19.1 per cent. Only 9.8 per cent. have taught only social science; 19.7 per cent., social science and one other; 23.1 per cent., two others; 26 per cent., three others; 13.3 per cent., four others; and 7.6 per cent., five others.

At the present time, the 173 teachers are teaching 30 subjects other than social science, English leading with 17.3 per cent.; followed by Algebra, 11.9 per cent.; General Science, 9.2 per cent.; Geometry, 7.6 per cent.; Debate, 6.9 per cent.; and Biology, 5.2 per cent. Still, it is significant that 26.6 per cent. teach only social science; 29.5 per cent. teach social science and one other; 17.3 per cent., two other; 6.4 per cent., three other; 2.9 per cent., six other.

The number-of-years'-experience question reveals the fact that 22.5 per cent. are teaching their first year; 12.8 per cent., their second; 6.9 per cent., their third; 7.6 per cent., their fourth; 4 per cent., their fifth; that is, 53.8 per cent. of the teachers have had less than 5 years' experience. Put another way, only 20.5 per cent. have taught 10 years or more.

In conclusion:

1. All but about 10 per cent. of the social science teachers have taught other subjects—English, commercial subjects, and Latin being the most common.
2. At present, about 25 per cent. are teaching only social science, but 25 per cent. are also teaching two and three other.
3. Most of the teachers have had less than 5 years' experience.

6. TEXTS USED IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

I shall mention only the most common texts in each subject, with no comments on them:

In World History, 26.2 per cent. of the schools use

Robinson, Breasted, and Smith, "Our World Today and Yesterday." Six others are mentioned.

In Ancient History, Robinson and Breasted, "Outlines of European History, Part I," and Webster, "Early European History," tie for first place with 20.5 per cent. Seven others are mentioned.

In American History, 53.3 per cent. use Muzzey, "American History." Eight others are used.

In Medieval and Modern History, West, "Modern Progress," is used by 34.6 per cent. Eleven others are mentioned.

In Economics, Thompson, "Elementary Economics," is used by 26.3 per cent. Eleven others are also in use. The names of the texts were not indicated in 15 of the 57 cases.

In Sociology, Ellwood, "Sociology and Modern Social Problems," is used by 19.6 per cent. Fourteen others. In 10 cases of 56, no text was named.

In Civics, 60 per cent. use Magruder, "American Government." Ten others are mentioned. No indication in 14 of 55 cases.

The only comment ventured is that, except in the case of Muzzey and Magruder, there is no semblance of a consensus as to which are the best texts, and in these the consensus is very small. I know of no standards for rating texts which are at all feasible for the ordinary teacher. I doubt whether the "experts" in any field would show much greater agreement than the figures I have just quoted. I believe the salesmanship of the publishers is the most important factor in determining which texts are "best"; that is, which ones will be used. The opinion of the sociology department at Washington is that no text should be used in elementary sociology; at least, until one is written which makes a different approach to the subject than any with which we are now familiar.³

7. OBSTACLES TO THE TEACHING OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

In conclusion, I want to review very briefly some of the factors that, in the opinion of the teachers, hinder the development of the social studies in the high schools. Hartwig made a similar study in 1922 of 115 Missouri schools.⁴ Some of her figures are given for comparison:

"Lack of library equipment" leads, with 58.9 per cent. of the teachers giving this reason. In Missouri, this reason also led with 57.4 per cent. "Inadequate teaching force" follows with 24.8 per cent. It was also second in Missouri with 53 per cent. The third obstacle was "Too many required subjects," with 21 per cent. This was also third in Missouri, with 40 per cent. "Lack of interest on part of the students," "Satisfaction with present curriculum," "Patron's fear of radical doctrine," and "Non-preparation of teaching force" followed, all with percentages less than 20. In Missouri, "Too many formal subjects" was cited by 29.6 per cent., as against 12.1 per cent. in Washington. "Patrons' fear of evolution" gave 19.1 per cent. in Missouri and 11 per cent. in Washington. "Objections from small militant groups or leading citizens" was cited by 8.7 per cent. in Washington.

Objections written into the schedules by teachers included the following: "Texts not adapted to the average high school mind," "Great popularity of vocational subjects," "Classes too large—buildings too small," "Principal does not like suggestions from others," "Unprotected economic position of teachers," "Cannot afford to teach sociology and economics in a small school," "No credit given for college entrance."

The last two objections often go together, and are based upon a misconception. Both economics and sociology may be presented in the history group at Washington for college entrance, and, except as there are special requirements for entrance in the various colleges, the remainder of the 15 units may be presented in social science after three units English and 1 each of Algebra and Geometry have been presented. For example, in Liberal Arts, three units of English, one of Algebra, one of Geometry, and two of Foreign Language are required. The other eight units may all be in social science. So there is no reason why college entrance requirements should interfere with the teaching of the social studies.

8. SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In the following generalizations I have tried to state as succinctly as I can the present status of the social studies in Washington, as indicated by the facts presented in this study.

1. The enrollment in the social studies has increased in the last ten years by about 20 per cent. Over three-fourths of the students take some social science each year. Ancient History and English History are clearly declining, while Sociology and World History are gaining in importance. This trend seems to be present in other states as well as in Washington and is more pronounced with them than with us.
2. Except in the case of Social Civics, the percentage of schools offering the various social studies in Washington is higher than that of the Kansas schools in 1925-26.
3. The teaching of social science may be somewhat stimulated by the entrance requirements of the University, but, on the whole, except for American History and Civics (including constitution study), the amount of social science required by the high schools of Washington is very small. Apparently only about 45 per cent. of the teachers would require American History, and only 40 per cent. would require Civics. American History and Civics would be required by about 25 per cent. Sociology, Social Problems, etc., would be required by over 50 per cent.
4. Our state course of study seems to be based upon the A. H. A. Committee of Five Report of 1896-99.
5. Almost all the teachers have college degrees and almost half of them have done some graduate work, one-sixth having gained the M.A.
6. At least one-third of the social science teachers have majored in non-social science subjects.

7. Most of them have been educated in the west; 85 per cent. have attended Washington colleges.
 8. About one-third have had no preparation in the subjects they are teaching and about 40 per cent. have not had more than 15 quarter hours' training in the subjects they are teaching.
 9. About 75 per cent. of the teachers handle subjects other than social science.
 10. Over 50 per cent. have had less than 5 years' experience.
 11. There is no clear consensus as to what texts are best in the various social studies.
 12. The chief obstacles in the way of extension of the social studies seem to be lack of library equipment, inadequate teaching force, and too many required subjects.
- The following recommendations are ventured:
1. A thorough revision of the course of study should be undertaken.
 2. A survey of texts should be made and the findings made available to all teachers.
 3. A committee should decide upon the amount of academic training that should reasonably be expected of the teachers of the various social studies.
 4. Social studies should not be taught by teachers trained in other fields.
 5. There should be a uniform set of requirements for graduation from accredited high schools.
 6. A minimum library in social science should be prescribed for accredited schools, by subjects and titles.
 7. Social science teachers should only in exceptional cases teach non-social science subjects.

¹ Mr. Daniel Johnston, graduate student in sociology, tabulated all of the data here presented. The writer is wholly responsible for the interpretations and conclusions.

² "Sociology in Washington High Schools," *School Review*, September, 1926, pp. 535-42.

³ The approach made by Harold Rugg and associates in "Town and City Life," for the seventh grade at the Lincoln School, 1923, is similar to what we advocate for the senior high school.

⁴ HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, December, 1922, pp. 339-42.

Why Not Apprentice Voters?

BY PROFESSOR ELMER ELLIS, STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE, MAYVILLE, N. D.

The percentage of legally qualified voters using their right of franchise has grown steadily smaller in the past quarter of a century. This means, fundamentally, that interest in public affairs is not as great as it was in the past. The lack of interest is usually blamed upon an absence of issues between parties and candidates, and to the distractions of modern life which have drawn attention from politics to commercialized sports, cheap fiction, and the headlined scandal. Regardless of where the attention of the public has turned, it is evident that the majority of voters are not interested in public affairs, and that situation in a democracy indicates a serious condition. Many worthy societies and individuals have become alarmed at this and have organized "get out the vote" campaigns. Newspapers have donated considerable space and editorial energy to the same subject. The last two elections were accompanied by loud and continuous exhortations to vote. And all the king's horses and all the king's men have only slightly checked this falling percentage. Failure here is more satisfactory to the student of politics than success could have been. The campaign aimed only at the effect and the fundamental lack of interest remained untouched. The result of herding uninterested and, consequently, uninformed voters to the polls would be to create more serious political problems. A full vote brought about by the use of advertising methods and social pressure would have made a great appearance of interest, and a false one. No doctor can cure an ulceration, political or otherwise, by painting it a healthful color. In this case the attempted coloration has failed and the diseased condition continues to advertise the illness of the body politic.

Professors Dewey and Almack, to mention only two, have long pleaded with us to bring about a closer integration of school and community life. Their suggestions, which apply to this problem, relate to the democratic organization of the school and classroom. Practice in self-government in the school, it is suggested, will tend to carry over into the life of the community. Without objecting to this belief the question may well be asked, is it enough? Is the democratic organization of school life sufficient to give pupils an interest in national, state and local politics? One suspects that it is not, although it may be a great aid. The more effective solution would seem to be in a closer integration of school life with actual political experience. Politics, we have been told, is one of the things Babbitt won't talk about. An obvious reason why he will not talk, think, or act politically is that he was never allowed to perform these functions until he reached an age that found him too busy to acquire new interests.

The proposal then is this: reproduce the experience of the better type of voter for every school pupil regularly. Every campaign, local, state and national would have its counterpart in school. Through the civics or citizenship classes the propaganda of the contending factions could be studied. Pupil attendance at local political rallies could be encouraged, and an understanding of the issues required. The organization of groups of pupils as supporters of certain parties might be allowed and even encouraged in the junior and senior high schools. General assemblies might be utilized before elections by representatives of these groups or of the civics classes to present the platforms of the parties and candidates. Expert

guidance would be necessary to prevent mere partisanship, but no more so than is necessary in every worth while social science class. Lastly and most important, election day in the political subdivision would be election day in the school. The school election would be a project for one or more civics classes. Voting booths with real ballots would be open for the usual hours. There would be no interference with the school program, but intermissions and vacant periods would be used. After the polls closed, the ballots would be counted in the regular manner and the results for the school announced. This result would serve to motivate the project, for pupils are almost invariably interested in contests where there is a decision. This is a tendency toward partisanship, but surely no more so than has always existed. The "foundation of fools," which Munro tells us is essential to every party, would exist under the most ideal circumstances. What appeals to the writer with greatest force is the possibility of developing more discriminating voters through this method. Able teachers could develop concepts of character standards for candidates, scientifically critical attitudes toward party proposals, and a spirit of political inde-

pendency that would have a far-reaching influence upon future politics.

Certain abuses would have to be guarded against. The inefficient teacher, in this as in other things, could do as much harm as good, but the ordinary supervision would be sufficient to guard against her. In certain unsupervised schools probably less could be accomplished, but at least the regular elections could be held and the pupils encouraged to inform themselves regarding the issues.

Many schools, some may object, have held these elections for several years. What has been done has been too irregular and restricted to have much effect upon general conditions. Allowing students to vote for president once or at most twice during their school life cannot improve the situation. Political education must be systematized; the interest in campaigns must be made permanent; and the privilege of voting must be granted regularly. Then when a citizen becomes old enough to assume the duties of suffrage, he will have a long apprenticeship behind him. It is not too utopian to believe that he would leave school with as permanent an interest in politics as the present generation has in baseball or the movies.

Organizing Your Community Study

BY HERBERT J. STACK, SUPERVISOR IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS, JOHNSTOWN, PA.

It is altogether natural that many cities, towns, and counties in Pennsylvania and throughout the United States should be interesting themselves in a search for material that will be most valuable and worthwhile in geography, civics, history, science, and the industrial studies. Following the issuing of the reports on the "Reorganization of Secondary School Subjects" and the "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education" we have been doing a lot of thinking about the content of many of our Junior and Senior High School subjects. Our new state manuals in elementary and secondary education have opened up an excellent approach for a reorganization of our courses of study to fit the real, vital, and educational needs of our community. Accordingly the question has been raised, how to organize a community survey that will be most worthwhile for the great mass of our school population.

A number of cities, including Newark, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and New York, have their community books usually written by teachers and used in various grades of the public schools. The larger cities quite naturally have funds available to have such material printed and distributed throughout the schools. The following plan that has been worked out in Johnstown is perhaps readily adaptable and valuable in that:

- A. It can be quite readily used by small towns, by cities, or by counties.
- B. There is practically no cost connected with the undertaking.

- C. It involves pupil activity and the study of the particular features in the natural environment.
- D. It makes available interesting and valuable material from the pupil's point of view.
- E. It involves correlation and articulation between different subjects and schools.
- F. It ties up the home, industry, and the community with the classroom.
- G. It can be worked out in single units such as a Senior or Junior High School or on a number of different units.
- H. It sifts out the basal experiences of the community life and prepares them for a logical presentation in the course of study.

With these ideas in mind the committee in charge of this study worked out the following plan, which can readily be adopted to other communities wishing to make a similar study.

1. *The Project.* "The Book of" prepared by the pupils and teachers of the..... Public Schools for the use in the classes in Civics, History, Science, Geography, English, and Vocational Subjects.
2. *The Purpose.* To make a study of our community and work out complete information regarding its history, geography, industrial life, and any other features that have contributed toward our social welfare.
3. *The Plan.*
 - a. The several geography, civics, history and other teachers are to be allotted subjects to be developed by their classes.

- b. This material will be edited by the teacher concerned and sent in to the Board of Editors as that particular school's contribution.
- c. City Government Bureaus, public welfare organizations and industrial concerns will be asked to aid us in giving the pupil committees all the information that they have available.
- d. The press will be given information regarding this survey so that they may help out in giving publicity.
- e. The material as organized by the Board of Editors will be submitted for multigraphing to the commercial departments of the various schools.
- f. This material will be multigraphed on standard 8½ by 11 sheets, the stencils to be retained for later editions.
- g. Pupils in various classes should be organized into study parties to go out personally and study the problem assigned.
- h. The pages will then be sorted out and bound either in loose-leaf form, or stapled together into a solid book.
- i. The Art Department will be asked to submit specimen covers, the best to be adopted for general use and a sufficient number made for the entire edition.

This plan is submitted at a meeting of the committee selected from the supervisors, department heads and teachers. At this meeting civic leaders and press representations are invited in. An attempt is thus made to get the whole-hearted co-operation of teachers, pupils, and other citizens and a slogan may be adopted such as "Know Your City," "Why is a good place to live in," or "A Bigger and Better"

Following this the plan for the organization and composition of the book is taken up and special features allotted to various schools.

1. Composition and Organization of the Study.

- a. Cuts, graphs, and drawings that might be helpful should accompany the reports.
- b. Articles written by outside experts should be reorganized by pupils into the language of the secondary school pupils.
- c. Headings and sub-headings should be distinct, and data should be interesting, to the point, and not too exhaustive.
- d. In order to provide for changes in arrangement and data, the material will be kept in mimeographed form for one year until it is reorganized for publishing.
- e. Organizing (for city or town of a population of 2500 up).
 1. Cover—assigned to the art department.
 2. Dedication.
 3. Introductory—the purpose of the study.
 4. Foreword—by the Superintendent of Schools or the Editor.
 5. Table of Contents.
 6. Extracts from the courses of study in Geography, Civics, Science, etc.

Part 1—How Our City Has Developed.

1. The history of our city.
2. This might take up the early history of Pennsylvania, the founding of our town, the early community life, important events in our history, men who have most contributed to our public life, etc.
2. The Geography and Resources of Our City. Here we would take up studies of our natural scenery, mining, and agricultural resources, the geographical features, etc.
3. Why Our City Has Grown. The advantages of our location, early beginnings of industry in our city, events that have contributed toward our growth, early churches, schools, etc.

Part 2—The Community and Industrial Life of Our City.

1. Education in our City. Our public schools, their purpose and place, parochial schools, Americanization, school gardens, our public school standards, etc.
2. Parks and Public Recreation. The story of our parks and playgrounds.
3. The Churches of our City.
4. How We are Governed.
5. Welfare Organization in Our Community Life. The work of the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Red Cross, Boy Scouts, Charity Organizations, Salvation Army, Hospitals, etc.
6. Civic Organizations that Serve Our City. This might take up the actual work that the Rotary Club, Kiwanis, the Chamber of Commerce, etc., are doing for our city.
7. How Our City Looks Out for Us. The work of the fire department. Our street trees. Where we get our water supply. The work of the police department. The work of the health department.
8. Our Transportation and Commercial Facilities.
9. Where We Get Our Gas and Electricity.
10. The Work of the Public Library.
11. Fraternal Organizations in Our Community Life.
12. Industries and Business Life of Our City.
13. Our Banks and What They Do for Us.
14. Vocational Opportunities.
15. The Place of Our City in the County and State.
16. Our Plans for a Better City. Here a program should be worked out following the studies made of public improvements and suggestions for a bigger and better city.
17. Appendix, maps, graphs of population, and industrial growth, references for further study.

5. *The Uses of this Material.*

Inasmuch as this material has been organized around the courses in study it should be used as a source of material in enriching the work in our upper grades and in the high school. In a school system organized around the new state course of study it might be used in the following subjects:

7th grade.

U. S. History.

Geography of Pennsylvania.

General Science.

8th grade.

Community Civics.

General Science.

Vocational Guidance.

9th grade.

Science.

Vocational and Economic Civics.

12th grade.

Problems of Democracy. There are still available for distribution a few copies of Vol. 2 of the "Book of Johnstown" that may be helpful to cities which are undertaking similar studies.

An interesting aftermath of the work done was brought to our attention recently. One of the graduates of our school, who had been active, called up the Garden Commissioner to inquire as to how the school garden was doing. He offered the services of himself and his team to help haul sand and black

earth to improve one of the big flower beds. So we might go on to tell the work accomplished by the organization. I sum it up by saying that the plan succeeded. The "machinery of government" was kept out of sight as much as possible, although at times, of course, it was evident.

Don't get the impression that, as a result of this organization, all our problems disappeared. This would be false indeed. Many times when some part of our "machine" failed to operate we questioned whether the gigantic undertaking paid. However, at the beginning of the next year the student body and teachers unanimously decided to continue the system. The teachers voiced the opinion that the growth in power by the pupils to initiate and carry out constructive measures, far overbalanced any extra work and worry the Commission entailed.

Of course, we realize that had the school not had good training in conducting many of its affairs before we organized in this manner much more difficulty would have been experienced. Such an organization is not a "mushroom growth" that springs into being overnight.

The processes of election and work of City Government are now familiar to the children of our school, and since inaugurating the system there is no lack of interest in this part of the Civics work.

Probably the best argument for the project is that our school is now beginning its fourth year under this form of organization.

The Problem of Socializing the High School Through Extra-Curricular Activities

BY ARMAND R. MILLER

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Until comparatively recent years, it was considered the primary function of the school to impart knowledge of specific subjects, such as the classics, mathematics, the vernacular, history, science, etc. Even science was taught academically as natural philosophy, laboratory methods having to "fight their way in" against a great deal of opposition on the part of the "old school." The sole criterion of the success of such a school was its ability to prepare students to pass college entrance examinations. The conception of "formal discipline" was generally accepted without question and constituted the keystone of the philosophy of education.

The individual was considered as an entity, a separate unit, and society as a simple aggregation of such units. Education meant the acquisition of culture. The finished product of such a system had to be able to read Latin and Greek fluently and to understand all references to classical literature. His knowledge of history consisted in a familiarity with wars and dynasties rather than an understanding of life, as revealed by the past, and of the rise and development of institutions. His mathematics was

"pure" mathematics—the ability to give the accepted proofs of the theorems of Euclid—"quod erat demonstrandum."

Nowadays we have a different philosophy as to the nature of the individual—the organic view of society, of the mind. According to this, the individual as distinct from society is an empty term, and society is more than a mere sum of individuals. The individual moves and has his being in society, is a product of society and would be nothing apart from it. According to this conception, even the will is social and our so-called "freedom of choice" is strictly limited by the two equally important factors of heredity and environment. We are a part of the social organism, much as each separate cell is a part of an animal body.

If we accept this view, it is at once postulated that we must, in education, put the emphasis upon the relation of the individual to other individuals—to society. If we can function as individuals only through society, it is obviously necessary that we get on a basis of understanding and sympathy and co-operation with society and the differentiated units of

which it consists. This is what is meant by social training and thus we have before us the agreement for social science in the high school course of study and for a socialization of all incidental activities.

Let us turn our attention now to the consideration of the school as a community. Before the child goes to school, he has received practically all of his social training in the two primary groups—the family and the play-group of the neighborhood. Here he has imbibed many of the fundamental principles upon which human association is based. He has learned to communicate with others by means of language, he has acquired some of the “we” feeling so essential to living with others; many of his instincts have been toned down into sentiments and more or less controlled emotions; he has (presumably) learned that he is not the center of the universe; he knows how to “give and take”; has had some experience in co-operation and team work; has some conception of authority; possibly some experience in leadership, and so on.

In the schoolroom and playground his social horizon is enlarged, his contacts increased and his self-realization furthered. As he goes in through school, he is given more responsibilities at home and perhaps he has experience in selling papers or working for the grocery man, or he joins the boy scouts, or spends a summer in a boys’ camp. His circle of contact is growing wider and wider and by this exposure he is absorbing more and more of the ideals, customs and attitudes of his associates.

When he reaches the adolescent age, many new influences come into his life. In the first place, on account of the physical and nervous transformation that is taking place, he becomes in some respects a different individual and he hardly understands himself. He looks out upon a new world. At just about this time he enters the high school, when he is thrown much more on his own resources and where the organization is such that his community is much enlarged. He is associated with 4 or 5 different groups in his classrooms, and in the corridors he mixes with pupils of all ages and conditions, from all sorts of homes. His high school is as truly his community as were his home, his neighborhood, his elementary classroom, etc. The high school, owing to the greater maturity of the pupils and the nature of its organization, presents a wonderful opportunity for social training—for the making of worthy citizens of the larger world of which this is a miniature edition, for enlarging the field in which the primary ideals of fair play, loyalty to the group, truthfulness, kindness, etc., are to be put into practice. Here arise problems that in almost every way parallel those of a small town of adults. The question is whether we are going to let the boys and girls participate in the solutions of these problems. The old way (and possibly the simpler one) is to have the school authorities do all of the planning and all of the executing—to hand everything to the pupils in the form of “rules and regulations.” To be sure, that was not without its virtues. A respect for law and order and a blind obedience to authority was undoubtedly inculcated in a well-

regulated school of that type. The method answers very well under an autocratic form of government. But does it prepare for citizenship in a democracy?

Don’t misunderstand me. I am not here advocating unalloyed “Student Government.” We don’t turn over the school to the pupils and tell them to run it. We call it “participation in government” and the pupils understand very clearly that the principal and teachers have a responsibility to the Superintendent and Board of Education. But they are made to realize that it is *their* school and that everything that is done is for *them*. Their suggestions are welcomed and problems are given to them for solution.

Formal studies in the social sciences are by no means rendered superfluous by this plan. The socialized school serves as the laboratory where the principles are put into practice and given true meaning. I would advocate four years of social science in addition to history and my only regret would be that it would not be practicable to make it required of all pupils. The argument is that Social Science is the science of living and I maintain that, while we get many pupils nowadays who cannot profit by such studies as foreign languages, algebra and stenography, owing to lack of ability, all who are able to graduate from the elementary school can profit by a study of the social sciences, if properly taught and motivated.

But mere classroom instruction in the social sciences would not insure the carrying over of the principles into practical life. It must be supplemented by experience in citizenship in the association of the pupils with one another on a basis of community relationship paralleling that met with in adult life. This is simply making use of one of the established principles of pedagogy—learning by doing.

MCKINLEYVILLE—THE ORGANIZED STUDENT BODY

Some years ago, in accordance with the above-mentioned principles, I organized the entire student body of the school of which I have charge (McKinley High, of St. Louis, Mo.) and in order to add a touch of realism, we refer to our community as “McKinleyville.” The original plan was to follow quite closely the municipal organization, but this was found rather impracticable.

The Student Council forms the nucleus of the organization. It is a representative body with about sixty members—one from each “advisory group” of about 30 pupils, elected by the group. The council meets regularly on Thursdays, during the fourth period, and is subject to call on other days at the same time, the programs of the representatives being made with that in view. The presiding officer, the student mayor, is elected by popular vote.

There are six Standing Committees, as follows: Conduct, Safety of Personal Property, Auditorium Sessions, Social Matters, Athletics, Finance,—the chairmen being elected by popular vote.

As in all student activities, a certain amount of supervision is necessary. It must not be thought that

the scheme will "run itself." There is one teacher who has general charge and who attends all meetings, the principal deliberately limiting his own attendance in order to avoid the repressing of initiative and to prevent the necessity for making snap judgments on points that are submitted to him for approval. The selection of a teacher for this responsibility is of the utmost importance and a mistake here would jeopardize the success of the entire plan. Tact and coolness and good judgment and a pleasing personality are indispensable. A certain amount of "steering" is necessary, but it must not be made conspicuous. Further stability is given by having teachers as moderators for the standing committees. These teachers meet with their committees during the 4th period on days when the council is not in session and frequently attend the meetings of the council, but ordinarily do not participate.

When I contemplated introducing this system, some six years ago, I received very little encouragement from either my superiors or associates. Nearly all felt dubious as to the outcome, and many fears were expressed as to the danger that the pupils would "try to run the school." But nothing of this sort has ever occurred, possibly due to the fact that "forewarned is forearmed." The pupils have always been given to understand that, their organization not being recognized by the Board of Education, any action taken by them must be subject to the approval of the principal, who is held responsible by the Board, and who cannot hide behind Student Council (nor even Faculty Council). So far no clash has ever occurred between the Student Council and the principal. Committees usually talk matters over with him before they have gone very far, especially if they involve some innovation of consequence.

The plan would fall far short of its purpose and possibilities, however, if only the members of the Student Council had this experience in citizenship. Consequently, a very important additional feature was introduced: namely, the organization of the advisory groups. Advisory group meetings are held every Monday, half of the school being in group meetings and half in the auditorium listening to a program (auditorium holds only half of school). The auditorium program is repeated and thus all advisory groups have a chance to meet. The representatives preside at the group meetings, matters of general interest are discussed, business transacted and often a program rendered. The representative is thus given an opportunity to keep his constituents informed as to what is happening in the Student Council and to learn their opinions and wishes.

SPECIFIC AIMS AND METHODS OF REALIZATION

So much for the machinery. The question of function naturally arises, for no scheme can have permanence unless it justifies itself by doing something worth while. I shall now explain, more definitely, what the specific aims are, and how they are realized.

In the first place, in order to develop human relations (and I take it that this is the underlying pur-

pose), we must have communication. If pupils simply go to their various classes, where perhaps the time-honored question-and-answer method is employed, the teacher doing most of the talking, very little group consciousness will be developed and social training will be at a minimum.

In the socialized school, exchange of ideas is fostered. A discussion of how this should be done in the classroom would be out of place here. Much is accomplished in this direction in the group meetings, where pupils meet in face-to-face contacts. Opinions are freely expressed, and sometimes the arguments become quite animated. Then there are the school publications, all under the auspices of the Student Council. These consist of a weekly newspaper and a semi-annual containing the usual original stories and poems, personals, jokes, pictures, and notes of organizations, of members of Senior class, etc. The Council also publishes, as needed, a hand-book giving general information about student activities, organization of student council, school songs, cheers, traditions, etc., intended mainly for entering pupils.

Some of the activities of the Student Organization have especially to do with the diffusion of those primary ideals that were more or less perfectly learned and applied in the primary groups—the home and the play-group of the neighborhood.

Co-operation and Leadership are, of course, fundamental in the whole plan of Student Organization. Further practice is given in athletics, in the volunteer societies (of which we have a large number), in the musical organizations (glee clubs, orchestra, etc.), in dramatics and other entertainments. In fact, these features are prominent in all student activities—without them, nothing could be accomplished.

The Sentiment of Kindness and the spirit of service are promoted by the Student Council in various ways. For example, substantial donations are made regularly to the child conservation Scholarship Fund, the Tuberculosis Society, the Provident Association, and other charitable institutions, etc. Some of this is in the form of money, taken from accumulated surplus funds, and some in the form of collections of foodstuffs and clothing, toys and books (before Thanksgiving or Christmas).

Honesty and Fair-Play are fostered. This is a frequent theme of discussions in the group meetings in connection with the problem of losses from lockers. The school newspaper also helps to impress these ideals. The point is frequently brought up in auditorium meetings in connection with athletics.

Loyalty and Good Sportsmanship are developed in connection with the inter-group citizenship contests and with athletics. The Committee on Conduct evolved a plan for scoring the advisory groups at the end of each five weeks, on the basis of the scholarship of its members, the number of its members having accounts in the school bank, the number taking part in school activities, the absence of tardiness, etc. The results are represented graphically by means of a chart displayed in the corridors.

Self-Control is developed in the group meetings. Parliamentary rules are followed, necessitating and encouraging politeness and consideration, and preventing the psychological phenomenon known as "the mob."

Thrift and System in Financial Matters are taught by the Savings Bank, established by the Student Council a few years ago, and by a trustee system, under which all moneys taken in for any purpose by school organization have to be deposited with the school trustee, a member of the Commercial Department faculty, appointed by the principal. Both the trustee and the supervisor of the bank are bonded and an audit is made semi-annually for the principal by a committee of commercial teachers. The bank and trusteeship are under entirely separate management in order to divide the work. Much of the actual clerical work is done by students of the Commercial Department. Systematic campaigns are made to increase the number of bank depositors and the total of deposits (usually about \$3000).

LEADERSHIP IN STUDENT ACTIVITIES

In order to be a "going concern," prepared to assume financial responsibility for the semi-annual, athletics, etc., the student body has an "invested reserve fund" of \$1000 (at present in the form of Liberty Bonds), purchased with accumulated surplus funds.

All surplus funds derived from athletics, publications, entertainments, etc., are put into the "general fund," at the disposal of the Student Council, on the initiative of the Finance Committee. Beside the charities above mentioned and the Liberty Bonds, examples of expenditures from this fund by the student body are as follows:

Asbestos curtain for auditorium.

Moving-picture machine for auditorium.

Portable moving-picture machine and screen for use in classrooms.

Large trophy case.

Paintings and other pictures for corridors.

Wireless apparatus.

Musical instruments.

Memorial tablets.

Purchase of honor society pins.

It will have been noted that all student enterprises are organized under the control of the Student Council—publications, athletics, entertainments, savings bank, contests, elections, expenditure of surplus funds, etc. The plan is thoroughly democratic. The student mayor presides at auditorium meetings and pupils frequently appear to make announcements or to participate in the program. Numerous contests are sponsored by the council, "four-minute speech" contests, selected by a process of elimination from the classes of each English teacher; oratorical contests, preliminary to the Washington University Inter-scholastic contest; inter-society debates for boys and a separate series for girls, preliminary to the inter-scholastic debates; inter-society declamatory contests, etc. All of these contests are held as a part of the regular auditorium sessions.

School elections are held for the purpose of selecting the mayor, chairmen of standing committees, editors, associate editors, and business managers of publications. Shortly before municipal or national elections a straw vote is usually taken in the school, stimulating an interest in candidates and parties and measures. Before each election involving pupils, campaign meetings are held, at which the candidates make speeches explaining their platform, etc.

The Student Council has put an added premium on the qualities of scholarship, leadership, service, and character by bestowing upon seniors, selected by the Faculty Council on the above basis, membership in the National Honor Society and presenting each with the emblem of that organization—a gold torch.

The Social Committee gives parties to the incoming boys and girls every half year, with games and contests and speeches by the student presidents of various organizations and representatives of activities.

ATTITUDE OF PUPILS

On account of the crowded condition of the school the Student Council planned definite traffic rules in the corridors, on stairs, and in the lunchroom, and these are enforced by student officers appointed by the Council. The fact that these arrangements are planned by the students themselves gives the latter an entirely different attitude toward all rules. They learn that through a limitation of action in minor matters they are enabled to realize a greater freedom and opportunity for self-expression. Thus the very fact that we are overcrowded serves as an advantage in the opportunities afforded for adjustment to a social order. The whole experiment has been a most interesting illustration of how innovations, at first taken skeptically, gradually receive the sanction of custom and become tradition after they have demonstrated their fitness through function. For the first year or two the plan was not taken seriously by the majority of the pupils. The idea of a student mayor was treated as a joke, especially by the older pupils, who were adjusted to the old order. Now the position is considered a high honor, eagerly sought after by the prominent pupils, and the whole scheme of student participation in government dominates the life of the school.

One of the most hopeful accounts of conditions in modern Russia is that by Rexford G. Tugwell on "Experimental Control in Russian Industry" (*Political Science Quarterly* for June). He tries to show that in a situation so difficult as to seem nearly hopeless there has been exhibited great courage and resourcefulness and to show that in spite of a necessity for window dressing only less than the necessity which exists for it among us, there has gone on a steady process of experimental construction. The Russian passion for American technique he calls a major influence in their economic adventure. They have a boundless admiration for our industrial power because it represents one of their objectives.

An Account of Student Government as Practiced at the Daniel C. O'Keefe Junior High School, Atlanta, Ga.

BY GEORGE H. SLAPPEY, STUDENT ADVISOR AND HEAD OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE DEPARTMENT

So many requests from other schools, from graduate students, and even from representatives of the Atlanta Press have come to me recently, concerning the work done by the students of the Daniel C. O'Keefe School, that I set down here a few of our experiences.

The use of the words "student government" in the title is somewhat misleading, for the students of the Daniel C. O'Keefe Junior High School do not govern the school. The teacher is supreme authority, and the teacher really maintains discipline. But we have at O'Keefe an organization which upholds and assists the teacher, by taking charge of the classroom when the teacher is absent, by directing traffic in the halls, by helping to keep the buildings and grounds neat and attractive. Student officers preside at assemblies, student monitors see that traffic and ground rules are obeyed, but always the strengthening influence of the teacher is felt. Student organization at O'Keefe abets the work of the instructor and seeks to elevate his authority.

In addition to its disciplinary value, our student organization has a reason for being: it seeks to teach the principles and machinery of democratic government through actual practice and demonstration. Court procedure, for instance, is taught in real courts, where student justice is meted out; parliamentary law is practiced in student assemblies.

In developing student government at O'Keefe, the Principal and Advisor have felt that democratic government is a thing that must grow of itself, guided and directed by the fostering hand of the teacher. An elaborate system worked out on paper and forcibly instituted would by the very nature of things have been doomed to failure. It is evident that students of junior high school age, suddenly given authority, and without preparation asked to perform duties of government, would make grievous mistakes, just as did our English ancestors, and the Romans before them, in the childhood of the race. Children must be taught and prepared if they are to assume offices of judicial and executive power. Hence it is that student participation in the government of the Daniel C. O'Keefe Junior High School is the result of slow growth and careful preparation. The history of our government, given presently, and the Constitution appended to this article, will both bear testimony to this fact. The Constitution is a very imperfect instrument as yet, subject to radical changes dictated by experience and future growth.

In 1923, soon after the O'Keefe Junior High School was established, the students elected a President of the student body, and after he had been inaugurated in the presence of a large and impressive assembly,

he appointed his cabinet. This was in accordance with time-honored custom in several high schools. Here we departed from custom. Up to this time the presidential office had been largely an honorary office. The custom, so far as it went, was very good, for it taught the machinery of elections. But after getting himself elected, making his inaugural address, and appointing his cabinet, the President, having nothing else to do, disappeared almost from the public eye, free of all the responsibilities which should be the wage of honor. Why not use this most popular member of the student body? Why not have him carry out some of the fine principles stated in his party platform? We decided to try it.

The President and his cabinet is the nucleus of our student government. They were asked to form themselves into a court of justice. A little later they were asked to act in the further capacity of Student Council.

Very soon we had a case for experiment. A student was seen throwing paper on the grounds; he was haled before the court for judgment.

The students rose nobly to the occasion. The boy was very clearly made to appreciate the error of his way, and was sentenced to see that no paper was left on the grounds during his recesses for three days. A member of the court was detailed to inspect the grounds each day to see that the sentence was enforced.

Other cases came and were disposed of. The students came to respect the Cabinet, to fear its disapproval, and value its approval. It may be said here that the first cases were largely reported by teachers, but since the monitorial system (described below) has been instituted, no teachers report cases to the student courts; the students themselves bring in the cases.

Almost coincident with the court system, our monitorial system had its beginning. Several of the teachers who had been assigned hall duty found students a valuable aid in preventing traffic congestion in the doorways and on the stairs. At recess, too, the students were very helpful in keeping the halls clear. Finally it was decided to place students in all the corridors between periods and at recess. These student helpers were called Monitors, and were organized into an executive branch of student government, thus relieving the court and the teacher of this sort of service. The Monitors were given badges and arm-bands as insignias of office, and they were given authority to summon law-breakers before court and council. The weekly meeting of the Monitors was organized into a lower court, where minor cases were tried, but the more important cases were referred to

council. Another duty of the Monitors is to see that decisions of courts and council are enforced.

In time it was found that the Student Council was kept too busy with its judicial duties to attend to any other duty. Moreover, complaints were made against the monitorial court; unfairness was charged by defendants. "Policemen," it was noted, "should not act as judges." It was decided to organize grade courts.

Each grade elected a Governor, and the Governor appointed a cabinet. They were organized into a grade court, slated to meet bi-monthly, each court on a different week. The grade courts have jurisdiction over all cases referred to them by the Justice of the Peace, an official appointed in each classroom by the President of the student body, in order to keep down the number of trivial cases coming before the courts. A prisoner, when arrested by a Monitor, is brought before the Justice for a preliminary hearing; if he considers the case worthy of trial, he binds it over to the next term of court. Right of appeal from the grade courts to Student Council is given, and appeal from Student Council to the Principal.

In order to try the system out thoroughly, and to awaken interest in student government on the part of outsiders, and in order that the children may realize by actual experience the value of a good teacher, once a year the Principal proclaims Student Day. On this day the Principal resigns his office to the President of the student body, and the Assistant Principal to the Vice-President of the student body. The council members assist the President in the performance of his executive duties. The classroom leaders become, or appoint someone to become, teachers for the day. The teacher sits as a visitor.

Student government has more than justified our efforts at the Daniel C. O'Keefe School. Our halls and corridors are policed with little effort on the part of the teachers. One teacher, for instance, may do the duty of two or more without efficient help, and those teachers on duty even may find it so little arduous that recess to all becomes a time for rest and refreshment. Much of the lifting of a burden from the teacher comes from the engendering of the proper attitude and spirit of responsibility for good order and good manners in the school through student co-operation. Our hundred or more Monitors feel the responsibility of office; it is generally understood by teacher and student that a Monitor should set a good example before other students. There is a feeling amongst the students and teachers that it is a disgrace to be fired from the monitorial force, and teachers may request the removal of a refractory Monitor from the force. A threat of removal usually brings results. The Principal states that before the organization of student government he handled ten or twelve cases of discipline a day from the office; now he handles only one or two, and our school has increased its enrollment more than five hundred students.

Civics teachers find student organization a valuable aid in the teaching of citizenship and formal government. Take, for instance, the case of a boy who had his bicycle broken at school. He appealed to a

Monitor for help. A secret service Monitor discovered the culprit, and the court ordered damages paid the plaintiff. Here was a valuable lesson on the sacredness of property rights and the necessity of government to protect one. A student accused a Monitor of favoritism. The Monitor was tried, found guilty, and suspended from the force; a lesson on the responsibilities of public office.

Limited space forbids the further citation of the worth of student organization, but let it be said by way of conclusion that at the Daniel C. O'Keefe Junior High School we find student organization a valuable aid in the management of our crowded school of sixteen hundred students and fifty-seven teachers. And, more than that, student organization is a great help in the making of a citizen, which, after all, is the chief function of any public school, but most especially of the junior high school.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS FOR STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DANIEL C. O'KEEFE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, ATLANTA, GA.

The students and teachers of the Daniel C. O'Keefe Junior High School, in order to promote love and affection between students and teachers, in order to promote a better understanding of the principles upon which Democracy is founded, in order to promote citizenship and scholarship, and love for justice, do ordain and establish this Constitution:

ARTICLE I

The Executive Department

Section 1. The executive power of this government shall be vested in a President and a Vice-President, a Governor and a Lieutenant-Governor, elected from each of the following grades: 7, 8, 9; and Monitors appointed by the Faculty Advisor, with the recommendation of the home-room teacher from the student body at large.

Sec. 2. Any student who is a member of the third-year class and who maintains an average of 80 or above, and is acceptable to the faculty and principal of the school, shall be an eligible candidate for the office of President.

Sec. 3. Any student who is a member of the second-year class and who maintains an average of 80 or above shall be an eligible candidate for the office of Vice-President.

Sec. 4. Any student in good standing with the faculty and who maintains a satisfactory standard of scholarship shall be an eligible candidate for the office of Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, of his respective grade.

Sec. 5. In case of removal from office of the President, the duties of that office shall devolve upon the Vice-President. In case of removal from office of the Governor, the duties of that office shall devolve upon the Lieutenant-Governor.

ARTICLE II

Elections

Section 1. The President and Vice-President shall be elected in the following manner, to wit:

At a date to be set by the Faculty Advisor, with the advice of the Principal, sometime in October, registration of voters shall be held in each home room. Every student who has paid fees and is in good standing with the school shall be eligible to register and to vote.

On the first Wednesday in November the election shall take place. Voting shall be done by secret ballot and each voter shall vote in his own respective ward.

The Wednesday preceding Thanksgiving shall be inauguration day. On this day the President and Vice-President shall take the oath of office. This oath shall be administered by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Georgia, or by some suitable official selected by the Faculty Advisor.

Sec. 2. The Governors of the eighth and ninth grades shall be elected in May by popular vote.

Sec. 3. The Governor of the seventh grade shall be elected the first week in October by popular vote.

Sec. 4. The Governors shall be elected by popular vote. Each Social Science classroom shall be constituted a voting precinct. Students shall not be required to register for this election.

ARTICLE III

Duties of Officers

Section 1. The duty of the President shall be to appoint and organize a Student Council; to preside at all meetings of the student body when asked to do so by the Principal; he shall see that decisions of the Student Council are carried out; he shall be general supervisor of all student government activities.

Sec. 2. The Governors of the respective grades shall be members of the general Student Council, and shall preside over the Assemblies of their respective grades. Each Governor shall organize and sponsor a grade council and shall make reports to the general council concerning the government of his respective grade.

Sec. 3. The President's Cabinet, besides existing as such, shall perform the duties of Student Council and shall be designated as such. This Council shall consist of twelve members, three from the B classes of each grade and one from the A classes of each grade. The President of the Monitors and the Governor from each grade shall be members of the Cabinet, and shall count as one of the four representatives allowed each grade. The duties of said Council shall be to act as a Supreme Court, to which cases may be appealed from the grade courts. The Council shall supervise all activities of the student government. Each member of the Council shall have for his particular supervision some department of the student government, as follows:

1. Governor of 7th grade—Ninth Grade Court.
2. Governor of eighth grade—Eighth Grade Court.
3. Governor of seventh grade—Seventh Grade Court.
4. President Monitors—Traffic and Police Duty, Grounds and Buildings.
5. Secretary of Lost Articles.
6. Secretary of Buildings and Grounds.
7. Secretary of Assemblies.
8. Secretary of Personnel and Co-operation.
9. Secretary of Council.
10. Secretary of Publicity.
11. Secretary of Student Activity.
12. Secretary of State.

ARTICLE IV

Duties of Cabinet Members

Section 1. The various Cabinet members shall have charge of such activities as shall be herein stated:

Three members of the Council shall be Governors of the grades. The Governors, in addition to their duties as Governors, shall be required to meet with the Student Council and render a report of their administration.

President of the Monitors shall have charge of all Monitors for Traffic, Grounds, and Buildings. He shall see that every Monitor is at his post and is performing his duty faithfully. He shall designate a Secretary, who shall keep all records necessary for efficiency in the Monitorial Department. He shall meet with the Student Council and render a satisfactory report of his activities.

Secretary of Lost Articles shall co-operate with the office in returning lost articles to their owners.

Secretary of Buildings and Grounds shall see that halls, stairways, dining-room, and grounds are kept clean.

Secretary of Assemblies shall attend to the proper seating of all assemblies. Certain Monitors designated by the President of Monitors may aid him.

Secretary of Personnel and Co-operation shall attempt, by means of the school paper, addresses at assembly, and general propaganda to promote O'Keefe spirit of loyalty and affection for teachers and students.

Secretary of Council shall keep records of the Council and attend to all correspondence of same.

Secretary of Publicity shall write the school letter to the School News page in the local papers. He shall see that accounts of all Cabinet meetings are published in the paper.

Secretary of Student Activities shall assist the Principal as he may direct in putting on student activities, such as: banquets, carnivals, ball games, etc.

Secretary of State shall direct and have charge of all Ambassadors and shall look after relations between O'Keefe and other schools.

ARTICLE V

Courts

Section 1. The Ninth Grade Court shall meet every two weeks. The Governor of the ninth grade shall preside at all meetings. A teacher acting in an advisory capacity shall meet with the court. The Ninth Grade Court shall try all cases referred to it by the Justice of the Peace. This Court shall furthermore act as Council for the ninth grade and shall devote its energies toward promoting the civic welfare of the ninth grades.

Sec. 2. The Eighth Grade Court shall meet every two weeks. The procedure and the functions of the Eighth Grade Court shall be the same as those of the ninth grade and shall try all cases referred to it by the Justice of the Peace.

Sec. 3. The Seventh Grade Court shall meet every two weeks. The procedure and functions of the Seventh Grade Court shall be the same as those of the eighth and ninth grades.

ARTICLE VI

Minor Officials

Section 1. Monitors shall be stationed for traffic duty in the halls and stairways of the buildings. They shall also police the grounds. It shall be the duty of the Monitors to see that students conform to the rules and regulations of the school.

They may summon in writing lawbreakers, who must appear before the Justice of the Peace. Monitors shall be appointed by the Faculty Advisor. No student shall be eligible for appointment who has not the recommendation of the home-room teacher.

Sec. 2. The Justice of the Peace shall be appointed by the President of the student body. His duty shall be to pass upon the merits of all cases brought before him. If sufficient evidence is produced to convince him that the case is worthy of consideration, he may order the accused to appear before the next court.

BY-LAWS

Student Day shall be observed annually on a day named by the Principal. On this day the President of the student body, assisted by various members of the student organization, shall take over the administration of the school.

The President of the student body shall act the Principal. The Vice-President as Assistant Principal and the class leaders as teachers. The Monitors shall continue to act in the ordinary capacity.

The Principal shall notify the Student President in ample time for him to make his plans for observing Student Day.

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Book Reviews

EDITED BY PROFESSOR HARRY J. CARMAN, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

The American People. By David Saville Muzzey. Ginn and Company, Boston and New York, 1927. 715, xlv pp.

Side-Lights on Our Social and Economic History. By S. E. Forman. The Century Co., New York, 1928. 516 pp.

The Rise of American Commerce and Industry. By S. E. Forman. The Century Co., New York, 1927. 500 pp.

We waited expectantly and hopefully for Professor Muzzey's new American history and we were not disappointed. It tells a high school audience clearly and most interestingly the salient facts of our past in such a way that the present may be very easily interpreted. Apparently, nothing essential is omitted; nothing unnecessary inserted. The social and economic aspects, so indispensable to the right understanding of not only our domestic but our foreign relations, are vividly stressed.

We are prone to say that our high school texts emphasize too much the Colonial Period, which has been so thoroughly studied in the eighth grade, that to devote any time to it in the eleventh or twelfth is futile. Professor Muzzey disposes of this period in three chapters, little more than one hundred pages, in such a way that a class may easily begin with the American Revolution, Chapter IV, without any loss in continuity of thought later. Then, too, nearly one-half the book treats of the period since the Civil War, and of this two hundred pages deal with the twentieth century.

The material is arranged chronologically, but for those who prefer to teach American history topically there is placed at the end a topical analysis with section references. The reading and special report references at the close of each chapter are adequate and up-to-date; the review questions helpful and suggestive. There is an abundance of maps, pictures, and diagrams throughout the entire book. Six appendices contain, in addition to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, a list of the states with valuable statistics, the presidents and other high officials, the cabinet members from Roosevelt to Coolidge, and the members of the Supreme Court.

There is evidence on every page of Professor Muzzey's keen scholarship, vivid narrative style, clear expression, thoughtful choice of material. We do wish it might be possible for an adequate American history for senior high schools to contain less than seven hundred pages, but with college entrance examinations what they are, we suppose we must endure for a while longer, at least. In spite of its five-pound look, we feel that Dr. Muzzey's book will be widely used and to good advantage.

Dr. Forman, in the two books here reviewed, has added to his already fine list of senior high school texts two others of great value. In the small school, or in the school with a small library, it is frequently very difficult to obtain illustrative material to clarify certain phases of our history, particularly along social and economic lines. This need has been met by Dr. Forman in *Side-Lights on Our Social and Economic History*, in which he gives brief selections from books by recognized authorities, from magazine articles, from reports of various commissions. The articles seem interesting, well-chosen to illustrate a certain point and not too brief to be of value. They cover a wide range of subjects from the "Character of the English Puritan" through the "Old-Time Yankee Peddlers to What Millionaires Do With Their Money." The book is divided into six parts: The European Background; Agriculture and the Westward Movement; Commerce, Manufactures, and the Currency; The Toilers; Transportation; and Everyday Life.

The Rise of American Commerce and Industry is, as the name indicates, a history of the growth of our economic life from its English background of the seventeenth century to the present day. There is nothing especially new either in material or treatment; it follows the same gen-

eral trend as several other similar works, though it does, perhaps, deal more with the human side of the problem than do most economic histories.

More illustrations and better arranged topical references would be of much assistance to the student. The book is adequately indexed and has, in an appendix, nineteen statistical tables of economic importance.

KATHRYN E. C. CARRIGAN.

Atlantic City High School, Atlantic City, N. J.

An Introduction to Contemporary Civilization in the West. A syllabus. Seventh edition, completely revised. Columbia University Press, New York, 1928. \$4.50. xxv, 330 pp.

For the last ten years those interested in educational experiments, especially in collegiate circles, have watched with attention the course offered to Columbia College freshmen called "Introduction to Contemporary Civilization," or locally "C. C." This course has exhibited a number of interesting features; in the first place, it has belonged to no department, but has been composed of subject-matter and has been taught by instructors supplied by the departments of history, economics, government, and philosophy; its classes have been held five times a week; it has had no textbook, but a library all its own of plentiful duplicates of many books; it has had numerous "new type" tests; its instructors have met in weekly conference; the students have elected a board of representatives; each semester there has been plenty of hard work for student and instructor, and the course has been popular with both groups. One of the most promising features of the course has been the fact that its instructors always have considered it in the experimental stage and in ten years have produced seven versions of the course; this last as contained in the seventh edition of the syllabus is marked by more changes than any of the others.

Originally the course was divided into three sections: the first dealt with the nature of man's environment and the nature of man and contained some geography and a good deal of psychology; the second section set forth the history of man since the middle ages, explaining the background of contemporary civilization; the last section was entitled the "Insistent Problems of Today," in which the problematical features of international relations and the economic, governmental, and educational life of the day were summarized. This general structure was maintained through six editions, with the inclusion and exclusion of varying materials in the three sections. Now, however, a complete revision has been made. The time of the course has been extended to two years, and the syllabus under review is for the first year only; it contains a rearrangement of the material which previously was contained in the first two sections, while the second year will be devoted to the problems of contemporary civilization.

This first volume is a syllabus of the evolution of the civilization of the Western World. The first section contains a brief introduction dealing with the nature of culture, the influences which mould it, and the cultural contributions of the ancient world. The second section presents an extensive picture of medieval civilization. The following four sections trace the changes which transformed medieval ideas and institutions and produced contemporary civilization. The last section, to which the entire second semester is devoted, is a comprehensive view of Western life, embracing general history since 1871, and a survey of modern society and the tendencies in philosophy, science, art, and education as they manifest themselves today.

Numerous innovations are to be noted. In the first place, the title of the course has been changed by the addition of the words "in the West"; Eastern civilizations must perforce be omitted. The discussion of historical development is much more detailed than before and resort is had

to political matters formerly omitted. A comprehensive review of the history of the United States, a consideration of the progress made in safeguarding public health, and an extended consideration, by means of a forty-seven page summary, given to Modern Art, are valuable new features.

Not only the material has been changed, but the method of presentation has been radically altered. In the previous editions most of the syllabus was in outline form, with a few introductory paragraphs scattered through, but not so this; instead, a rough estimate would place more than half of the 322 pages as text rather than syllabus. The purpose of the pages of text is to place the material drawn from other books in a setting appropriate to the evolutionary idea of the course and furthermore to summarize conveniently much data not needed in extended form. This gives even more coherence to the course than it had before; being the work of many hands, some of the joints are not so deftly turned, but in general the three lines of approach laid down in the introduction, namely, how men have made a living, how they have lived together, and how they have understood the world they lived in, have been followed through. A notable improvement is the inclusion of Horabin's charts and maps, which were so important a feature of Wells' *Outline of History*, a number of graphs and diagrams and a series of pictures illustrating the history of art and architecture.

By this revision much of the adverse criticism that the successive editions of the syllabus have received has been silenced. The big point that there was too much in it has been met by taking the original last section and placing the material of that portion in a second year. The inclusion of the text material has conquered the criticism that the variety of assignments from different works made the course disjointed. The student now has a handbook which will not only serve him during his freshman year, but thereafter, as a reference book and bibliography. The teacher of history will also find this book a convenient reference work, and the new arrangement should make this syllabus usable by history departments for introductory courses in colleges and universities.

This book then, like each of its predecessors, marks another milestone upon the highway of collegiate experiments. No ten years of experimenting in the presentation of the social sciences has ever been more valuable and, reviewing this decade of advance, those interested in educational progress can look into the future expectantly. "What of the next ten years?"

R. F. NICHOLS.

University of Pennsylvania.

Outlines of Historical Study. By George W. Robinson. Ginn and Company, Boston and New York, 1927. vii, 375 pp.

This volume is "intended at once as an introduction to historical study and an outline." After one chapter devoted to "General History," there are eleven dealing with different periods of European and American History from Greece to the present day. Each chapter contains several pages of suggestive quotations bearing on the topic under discussion, a chronological outline, and a long list of questions. There is also a list of inventions and discoveries, biographical notes, with critical comments quoted from noted authors, on thirty-four classic historians from Herodotus to Henry Charles Lea; and some twenty-five pages of quotations from a wide selection of writers, ancient and modern, under the heading, "Historical and Political Maxims and Reflections." The index is very detailed. The work has been prepared with great care; its usefulness to the teacher and student will be sufficiently obvious from this analysis of its contents.

THOMAS P. PEARDON.

Barnard College.

Empire to Commonwealth. By Walter Phelps Hall. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1928. xii, 526 pp.

The relations of the members of the British Commonwealth to one another and to the outside world at the present time offer a series of paradoxes and contradictions

between legal theory and actual practice which are even more difficult to understand than they are to describe. However, the principles upon which these relations are based have been fairly clearly worked out in recent years, and may be explained briefly even if the application of them to specific cases frequently raises difficulties. The term "British Empire," by the way, was formerly applied to all territory over which the flag flies, but as this raised objections, it is now usually restricted to the United Kingdom, with its colonies and dependencies, while the term "British Commonwealth" is used on the other hand to designate the group of self-governing, equal "Nations" of the Empire which (save Newfoundland) are separate members of the League of Nations—the United Kingdom, the Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Newfoundland, Irish Free State, and also India, although the latter is in a special position.

The British Commonwealth is now a Confederacy. Its collective agency is the Imperial Conference, which meets every two or three years, and in which all the British Nations are on a footing of equality. Each government's delegation is headed by its prime minister and has one vote; any member may raise any question of general or particular interest, and decisions are rendered in the form of resolutions. These have only a moral force, however, as they can be made effective only through action of the member governments, each of which is free to do as it likes in the matter. Thus the Commonwealth has no continuous machinery beyond that of the home government for transacting its business between Conference sessions. It has, however, a Constitution (in the British sense), consisting of Imperial Conference resolutions and important precedents established by action of the various governments. The principles just noted were set forth in the Conference session of 1907; they were reiterated in Sir Robert Borden's resolution adopted in 1917, and were elaborated and made more definite in a long memorandum endorsed by the 1926 Conference—a session which cleared up several hotly debated grievances of Canadian and South African Nationalists. Although Britain is a Great Power in her own right and none of the Dominions are, the Nationalists have demanded complete equality with her, not merely within the Commonwealth, but at international congresses as well. Foreign powers have had something definite to say on the latter point, however, despite British efforts on behalf of the Dominions—especially at the London Conference on the Dawes Plan—but full equality in internal relations was recognized when the 1926 Conference decreed that the British Nations are "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs."

The hierarchical symmetry of the nineteenth-century British Empire is gone. These constitutional changes, moreover, are merely the reflection of steady developments in other major relationships. For more than three generations the Dominions have been free to pursue each its separate economic existence. Defense measures, even the conduct of foreign policy, are now thoroughly decentralized. Any British Nation may now make any treaty it likes with a foreign power, provided it keeps the others informed of the negotiations and does not bind any other without its own consent. Nevertheless, all plenipotentiaries, whether they represent Britain or some Dominion, act in the name of the Crown, and it is highly probable that a foreign power becoming embroiled with one of the members would insist on its right to attack any others it could. All these bases of relationship have been settled within the Commonwealth itself, through consultation among the several governments. Throughout the controversies attending their settlement, moreover, the British Nations have been (and still are) far more interested in one another than in foreign countries, with the result that the Commonwealth today is undoubtedly much more closely knit by enduring ties than outside observers are prone to think.

The story of this evolution "from Empire to Commonwealth" is unique in history and one of the most fascinating and instructive in the annals of modern politics.

Furthermore, practically all the crucial episodes in this development have occurred during the period which Professor Hall considers—that is, since Joseph Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary launched the Imperialist drive on Little-Englandism at home and in the Outer Empire at the Conference session of 1897. To attempt to cover the changes of these thirty years in a single volume is an ambitious task, calling for definite objectives and rigid selection of material. In his survey (dedicated, by the way, to Ivy Lee) the author has chosen to appeal primarily to the general reader, to present what might be termed the pageant of Imperial evolution. He has stressed personalities and events rather than issues and broad movements. He has given us plenty of action, if not of analysis, and his narrative is correspondingly more entertaining on that account. Furthermore, he has not limited it to the problems of the relations of the members of the Commonwealth alone. He has sketched the vicissitudes of their internal development also, and has in addition devoted two chapters each to India and Egypt and one to the "Dependent Empire" of Great Britain.

Such a method of treatment may prove disappointing, to some readers at least, in that although it admits ample accounts, for instance, of the South African and European Wars, it hardly affords place for adequate exposition of the nature of the Imperialist movement—perhaps the most ambitious of modern times and offering an interesting analogy to that of the Federalists in America as presented by Dr. Beard—nor of the various issues it precipitated. There is, perhaps, also undue emphasis on the personalities and policies of the home government. Chamberlain's efforts to impress tariff reform upon his Cabinet colleagues are but a minor episode in the broad and deep ramifications of the Imperial preference issue. The Britannic controversy has not been one between Mother Country and Dominions, but between Nationalists and Imperialists throughout the Commonwealth; Imperialism was much stronger in the Dominions than in Britain under the Liberal régime, and the Nationalists have by no means been confined to the Outer Empire. Furthermore, the course of the controversy itself has been determined essentially by Dominion action. Sir Wilfrid Laurier of Canada played a far more influential rôle in it than did Chamberlain. To speak of "military assistance given Great Britain" by the Dominions in the Great War is to ignore the measured assertions of Dominion statesmen—profanely reiterated by the rank and file of the overseas contingents—that they had come with no such motive, but to defend their own countries from annihilation. The expeditions against German Colonies in Africa and the Pacific, too, exemplify Dominion, not British, economic imperialism, as both their antecedents and subsequent developments reveal. In the third place, to maintain the writer's very lively and interesting style and at the same time meet the problem of condensation which the scope of the survey entails, results at times in some sacrifice of perspective. For instance, if the vicissitudes of the long defense controversy, especially after it reached the acute stage in 1909, are considered, the Great War can hardly be said to have come to the Dominions "as a complete surprise" (p. 198). So, too, since their antecedents could not be adequately developed, the constructive achievements of the post-War Imperial Conferences, especially those of 1921 and 1923, have hardly been given sufficient prominence. True, the lines of development had been definitely laid in the preceding period, but it was at these Conferences that the evolution from Empire to Commonwealth was conclusively recognized and defined. Finally, space has not permitted extensive analysis either of the antecedents or the implications of several crucial episodes in this evolution, which leaves the reader somewhat in the dark as to their significance, and as to the general tone of Imperial relationships.

The above comments, it should be stated, are intended less as specific criticisms of the work under review than as general observations upon all discussions of the Britannic Question which are primarily narrative. The author has not aimed to present either a comprehensive treatise on the constitutional relations of the Commonwealth (that

has been done by Professor Keith), or a detailed study of the political forces operative within it, the implications of the various episodes in the long controversy and the conflicting viewpoints brought to bear upon them. He has offered us instead a most entertaining and informing—if occasionally, perhaps, slightly misleading—portrayal, as has been said, of the pageant of Imperial evolution, and so filled a definite place in the literature of the subject left vacant by preceding commentators.

A. GORDON DEWEY.

Columbia University.

America and the New Poland. By H. H. Fisher, with the collaboration of Sidney Brooks. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928. xxvi, 403 pp.

This book is really a study of the share of the United States in the re-establishment of the ancient state of Poland, with special emphasis upon the work of the American Relief Administration and other similar agencies. A large part of the material for the volume was obtained by consulting the documents in the Hoover War Library at Leland Stanford University. As the author reminds us, Americans and Poles have been implicated in each other's history since our Revolution, when the gallant soldiers Pulaski and Kosciuszko served in the American Army. More recently, of course, hordes of Poles have emigrated to this country, and some 100,000 of them served in the American Expeditionary Force during the War.

It is a difficult task which the author faced, that of telling in one volume the story of the creation of the largest of the new states of Europe. In order that the reader might understand the work of organizing the new nation, it was necessary to first summarize the rise of the Poles in the tenth century, and to follow the problems which dogged the footsteps of these people all through their history. Exposed to enemies on all their frontiers, which lacked the highly desirable natural barriers of rivers and mountains, their history has been a turbulent one, complicated by the pressure of alien and hostile Russians, Germans, Czechs, Tartars, Swedes, and Magyars. In the resistance by the Poles to this pressure, and in the added complication of the rise in eastern Europe of two hostile and highly nationalized branches of the Christian Church is to be found the origin of their valiant, tragic history.

Upon this historical background, well calculated to excite interest in the affairs of the Polish people, Mr. Fisher builds the story of the attempts of this unfortunate group to find for themselves a place; to formulate a plan of action when the Great War of 1914 broke upon them. Hopelessly divided by the ruthless partitions of the eighteenth century, torn by hopes and fears as to what victory by either side would mean to them, their lot was extremely perplexing during the years 1914-1918. Among loyal Poles in Russia were many who believed that an autonomous kingdom under the protection of the Czar would be desirable, while western and southern Poles were hopeful that their service in the armies of the Central Powers would be productive of some equally desirable result. All were doomed to disappointment, for though the world saw the dreadful spectacle of kindred people, here as elsewhere, fighting one another with the best of motives, the realization came to all Poles by 1917, German, Austrian, and Russian alike, that it was folly to expect benevolent reform from any of the great eastern monarchies.

So the Poles had to begin the task, a slow and difficult one, of forming their state by the organization of Polish committees in foreign capitals to interest Americans, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and others in their cause. Circumstances made the United States the most ready to lend an ear to these plans, which by late 1916 had begun to point to the erection of an independent Poland. In the first place, President Wilson pronounced strongly for such a result; in addition, there were in the United States more of their countrymen than in any other foreign country, among whom the propaganda would be effective; finally there was in America a more ready interest in the revolution idea and vastly greater material resources to aid such plans than anywhere else. The activities of the Poles

in the United States were assisted, and the governmental assistance extended, by the entry of the United States into the War in 1917.

Of course, as we know, the end of the War did not mean the end of Poland's troubles, for there remained the difficult problems of establishing the boundaries of the new state, of dealing with the widespread famine and distress, of reforming the finances, and of establishing the government on a stable basis. The giving of the largely German corridor to Poland, the disorders attending the Polish-German plebiscite in Upper Silesia, the disagreements of the Czechs and Poles over the Teschen region all threatened to wreck the state ere it were launched. The work of food relief by the American and Polish-American committees, the releasing by the United States Government of credits for the purchase of engineering materials, the floating of external loans to the new government after a measure of political stability had been attained, the organization of the Bank of Poland to stabilize the currency are all interestingly told by Mr. Fisher. Though agrarian unrest still exists and though the financial condition of the state is still far from satisfactory, the author feels hopeful that the Polish people will yet find a lasting solution for these problems.

Mr. J. V. Fuller, reviewing this same volume in the *American Historical Review* (July, 1928, pp. 900-901), has pointed out some careless editorial errors in Mr. Fisher's book. If an additional criticism might be hazarded, it would be in regard to the maps which the book contains. There are six of them, but no quick way to find their location. They are all small and rather sketchy. It is difficult sometimes to follow the story of the development of old Poland for this reason. The book needs at least two more maps: one of Poland before partition, showing its territorial expansion; another depicting the restored Poland in a little more clear-cut fashion than the map facing page 266. The map facing page 214, entitled, "American Feeding Centers for Undernourished Polish Children," has the defect that one can hardly distinguish the tiny words of explanation which accompany it. On the other hand, Mr. Fisher has placed in the book an adequate index (subject to the limitations mentioned by Mr. Fuller), a very useful chronological table of Polish History from 960-1927, a bibliography, and twenty-three pages of interesting documents dealing with the War and post-War phases of Polish history. In general, Mr. Fisher has given us a book which should be interesting to the student of recent European History and to persons interested in international relations.

COURTNEY R. HALL.

Adelphi College.

The House of Lords in the Eighteenth Century. By A. S. Turberville. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1927. 556 pp.

"For self-contained dignity, combined with airy condescension, give me a British representative peer," says a character in *Iolanthe*, a comedy which has many a shrewd thrust at this very distinctive of British institutions. To appreciate the full force of this particular thrust there is no better guide than Mr. Turberville's careful and interesting study, based largely on manuscript sources. It may be remembered that the author in previous monographs on the Lords and eighteenth-century society has guaranteed a grasp of the background requisite for this rather specialized work. Taking for his object here the narration of "the political history of the Chamber" and "the story of the heyday of the Whig oligarchy, and of its decline in the earlier years of George III," Mr. Turberville has succeeded in portraying the career of the most important part of the British constitution of government, from the accession of Anne to the rise of the younger Pitt. In those days the Lords counted. The House prided itself continually on its traditional functions of mediating between Crown and people, of balancing the Ship of State, and of advising the king. Even though many members "left their brains outside and voted just as their leaders told 'em to," it was not merely a rubber stamp. And finally if "the House of Peers made no pretense to intel-

lectual eminence," it did contain a high proportion of extremely able men.

To these individuals, the leaders of the Whig oligarchy and their chief opponents, Mr. Turberville is scrupulously fair. The Duke of Newcastle becomes more than the caricature and the party boss that textbook writers are fond of making him; the Duke of Bedford gets his meed of fairness; and even the ignoble Lord Sandwich takes on the name of an able if not admirable man. On the other hand, the weaknesses of Chesterfield, Hardwicke, and Mansfield are recognized alongside their accepted abilities. And many of the more mediocre or temporary figures, such as Richmond and Lyttelton, are presented in clear-cut characterizations. The author has done well not to neglect personalities in his treatment.

The ability of these men, however, is only one of the reasons why the Lords during the major part of the period discussed was the dominant partner of King, Lords, and Commons. Control over the Commons' membership, an entrenched oligarchy, preponderance quantitatively not less than qualitatively in the cabinets, tradition, an unsettled succession, all contributed in their way to focus a certain power in the Lords that has never been equalled in modern England. In a day when parvenus flourish and gout is unknown, when a scheme to make "a duke's exalted station attainable by competitive examination" would cause hardly more than a mild flurry, we can scarcely appreciate the position of a body of men who were once politically, socially, and intellectually pre-eminent.

The American student will find not a little of interest both as to personalities and events. He may discover new sides to men who played their part in the Independence drama, and new features of the English political background. Lord Camden appears not as a far-sighted imperialist; and George III turns out not quite the stupid "little Englander" he has so frequently been pictured.

There is a complete bibliography, though space might have been found for Michael's *Englische Geschichte im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* and Salomon's study of Queen Anne's later ministries. Fuller use might also have been made of the Newcastle and the Hardwicke papers to tell us more than is pretty generally known of the power of the Lords over the Commons, and to knit more closely the generalizations made on that rather neglected aspect of English political history.

CHARLES MULLETT.

University of Missouri.

Legendary Islands of the Atlantic. By William H. Babcock. The American Geographical Society, Research Series, No. 8, New York, 1922. 196 pp. Maps.

Atlantis in America. By Lewis Spence. Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, 1925. 213 pp. Illustrated.

In historical writing there is a great amount of controversial literature and so-called scholarly criticism. The result is that upon certain historical problems is cast some light and much heat. These two volumes are written by eminent authorities, yet in so far as they treat of the same subjects, each comes to a different conclusion and proves to his own satisfaction, though not at all times to that of the critical reader, that he is correct in his conclusions. The worshipers at the shrine of dilettantism and others who love a subtle controversy will do well to read these volumes. Particularly should they prove of value and interest to the student of the "background" of American history.

Without engaging in a detailed and prolix analysis of the ethnological problems involved, the reviewer wishes to state briefly the questions considered. Many maps of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries depict islands in the Atlantic Ocean which were reported as having been seen, visited, or heard of. Among such places were St. Brenden's Island, the Island of Brazil, the Island of the Seven Cities, the sunken land of Buss, Antillia, and the mystical Atlantis. These islands were illusive and appeared in early cartographical representations in a variety of localities. However, they frequently served as lodestones to adventurous mariners and furnished the urge

for discovery which preceded the voyage of Columbus. But concerning Antillia and Atlantis in particular, great present-day interest exists. Mr. Babcock concludes after much study that Antillia is Cuba and that it was discovered in the fourteenth or fifteenth century (p. 163, 188). The Island of Atlantis, of which Plato wrote more than four centuries before Christ, telling of the existence of a mighty empire which contended against Athens, and which about 9600 B. C. sank beneath the waves of the Atlantic, he concludes to be legendary and confused by the ancients with the Sargasso Sea. It is at this point that the two writers disagree.

In Mexico and Central America, when the Spanish conquerors arrived, they learned of a tradition among the natives that the earlier ancestors of the aborigines had come from an island in mid-Atlantic—the "lost" Atlantis. Mr. Spence writes of the "Atlantis Culture-Complex," holding that "the occurrence on either side of the Atlantic of a civilization having certain salient cultural characteristics proves that Europe and Africa on the one hand and America on the other must have received it from a common source—Atlantis. The chief components of this complex are a common tradition of cataclysm, mummification, witchcraft, and certain art-forms and distinctive customs" (p. 6). In a careful analysis and painstaking, though sometimes superficial, synthesis the author reaches the conclusion that an island in mid-Atlantic did exist, that from it, via Antillia, came the culture of the middle American Indians, and that it was truly the Atlantis which pre-Columbian maps depicted.

Such short summaries can hardly do justice to these erudite works, but they give some impression of the state of knowledge today concerning this intriguing subject.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

The Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine. By Alice Felt Tyler. The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1927. 411 pp.

There have been few more maligned actors on the stage of American history than Blaine, and there have been, paradoxically, few with such a large following. Blaine in many respects is an enigma, solved perhaps only by his wife and his niece, Abigail Dodge (Gail Hamilton). He was certainly a victim of his own enthusiasm, and was not infrequently blinded by it. Moreover, he was victimized by his imagination into thinking—what proved to be true later in life—that his health was poor. This factor may have played a greater part in his diplomacy than most persons realize. But though this book is in no way a character sketch of the Secretary, it appears to the reviewer that the author of this volume has caught the real Blaine to a very great degree.

Blaine became Secretary of State with no diplomatic training, yet with preconceived notions about the conduct of foreign affairs. Perhaps it was lucky that he served at a time when there were few complicated relations with Europe. Miss Tyler correctly credits him with the plan of adopting an "American Continental System" which he expanded to include the Hawaiian Islands. Blaine was a pacifist and he desired peace in the Western Hemisphere in order to expand United States commercial relations with the American nations. "...The Monroe Doctrine was to be extended to mean a positive aid to the development of that part of the world which it affected" (p. 17).

The backbone of his system was the Pan-American Conference. His attempt to call a conference of American states in 1881 was a failure partly because of the death of President Garfield and partly because of the continuation of the War of the Pacific, which gave rise to the fruitful and periodic Tacna-Arica controversy. When he became Secretary of State a second time in 1889 he was more successful and the first Pan-American Conference convened under his aegis at Washington in 1889-90. This in a sense was the triumph of his diplomacy and the author has treated it in chapter VII. In many other respects Blaine blundered, as, for example, in the controversy with England over the Clayton-Bulwer treaty (ch. II), in the

war between Chile and Peru (ch. V), in the Chilean revolution (ch. VI), and in the fur seal controversy (ch. XIII).

In all there are fifteen chapters in the volume touching on the several phases of diplomacy of the two short periods considered. An excellent bibliography is attached together with two appendices of documents and a poor index. The work is scholarly, carefully balanced, and well worth reading.

University of South Carolina.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The Legacy of the Middle Ages. Edited by C. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1926. xii, 549 pp.

The Clarendon Press has produced another useful and beautifully made book for students of history. Its ten chapters and their sub-divisions have been contributed by seventeen scholars of various institutions in four countries, and several of them are of outstanding merit. As was inevitable, there is some confusion of aim, some stressing medieval achievement, and others the legacy to us of that achievement, but in general the symposium is well planned in scope and emphasis. The single notable omission is a deliberate one. The nature and progress of the sciences has been left to another volume. The forty-two illustrations are admirably chosen and are reproduced in the fine manner to which recent Oxford publications have accustomed us.

Brief review of such a volume is impossible and a list of chapter headings gives only a scant idea of its contents. After an interesting introduction by Crump, which sharply reminds the reader that an agricultural society is under review, the first chapter very appropriately deals with The Christian Life. There follow chapters on Art (Architecture, Sculpture, Decorative and Industrial Arts), Literature (Latin, Vernacular, Handwriting), Philosophy (colored by its author's interest in Duns Scotus), Education, Law (Customary, Canon, Roman), The Position of Women, The Economic Activity of Towns, Royal Power and Administration, and Political Thought. No chapter is ignorant and those which are unusually opinionated discuss their opinions. As a result, the book will prove interesting and profitable to those who either have general interest in the Middle Ages or who desire a general introduction to early modern times.

Columbia University.

BARTLETT BRENNER.

Book Notes

Thomas Y. Crowell Company (New York) have published on thin paper in one volume of 900 pages at \$5.00 a revised edition of the unusually successful *England* of Cyril E. Robinson (Winchester College), which was originally published in four small volumes. It is a simple, straight-forward account up to 1928, with chief emphasis on the political and economic history and a rather large space given to wars. There are 63 maps and 24 plates of excellently chosen illustrations, chiefly good portraits and fine architectural subjects. The style is interesting and stimulating, and the factual material is used in discussion rather than merely chronologically arranged. The book would probably be most useful for good senior high school students who were especially interested in English history or for junior colleges. It is naturally English in flavor, but that does not prevent it from being a good introduction to historic England. It has a section devoted to summaries and chronological tables and a bibliography of books chosen for their interest and classified for younger and older readers.

Renaissance Student Life: The Paedologia of Petrus Mosellanus, translated by R. F. Seybolt (University of Illinois Press, 1927, 100 pp.), consists of a series of colloquies written in Ciceronian Latin by the successor of Richard Croke as Professor of Greek at Leipzig in 1517. Intended, as were the contemporary colloquies of Erasmus

and others, to teach classical Latin by use and to strengthen the cause of the New Learning, their interest for us is chiefly the picture of student life at a sixteenth-century university which they unconsciously provide. In a series of very brief glimpses, the passion for learning Greek, the anxiety for money from home, the vicissitudes of life in lodgings, the necessity of working or begging a way through college, and so on, combine in a convincing panorama, most of whose features could be paralleled today.

The third and concluding volume of *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement*, by G. D. H. Cole (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927. viii, 237 pp.), sketches the rise of the Labor Party, the great unrest of pre-war days, the war-time experiences of the workers' movement, the post-war offensive and slump, the "General Strike" of 1926, and the astonishing Trade Union Act of 1927. There are several charts and tables, and a good index. Mr. Cole seldom loses his temper, though there are some individuals (e. g., Winston Churchill) for whom he has, perhaps excusably, little love. He shows an admirable ability to summarize in crisp, clear style the policy of Labor towards successive issues and the reasons underlying each significant trend. Particularly useful seem the chapters outlining the post-war condition of Britain (ch. VII) and "The Condition of the Workers in the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century" (ch. X). Mr. Cole's conclusions illustrate the prevailing temper in the movement of which he writes. The glorious dreams and millennial hopes of the early years after the war have dissolved into thin air; there remains a consciousness of the urgency of social change, the possibility of failure, and yet a rooted determination to think and plan towards a new society.

Syllabus for the History of Civilization, by Witt Bowden and Roy F. Nichols (F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1927. vi, 213 pp. \$1.10), is apparently based largely on L. Thorndike's *A Short History of Civilization*. In twenty-eight topical outlines it covers the whole sweep of civilization in Europe and the Far East. Each topic is followed by a list of readings, most of them, unfortunately, from quite elementary textbooks and manuals. To take a typical case, there are no references under the heading "Greek Civilization" to such standard, yet eminently readable works as Zimmern's *Greek Commonwealth*. In spite of this serious defect the topical outlines may often prove suggestive to the teacher of this subject. The introduction contains the customary hints on the proper methods of study.

A Syllabus of the History of Western Europe, by Franklin Charles Palm (Ginn and Company, Boston and New York, 1927. viii, 102 pp. \$1.00.), is intended for the general introductory course in European History in colleges and is based on J. H. Robinson's *Introduction of the History of Western Europe*, except for two preliminary topics on ancient civilization. At the end of each outline there is given a "Principal Assignment" (Robinson), a list of collateral reading and usually a short map study. Two appendices give books for optional reading and a short list of historical novels.

The writing of *The Taking of Ticonderoga in 1775: the British Story* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1928. vi, 90 pp. \$2.50) was one of the pleasurable tasks that occasionally fall to historians. The author, Mr. Allen French, found his subject and his evidence neatly delimited for him. The controversy as to the services of Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold was an old one and well thrashed out. New evidence from the Gage Papers provided the necessary outside criterion. Now one might almost say, in the language of diplomacy, "the incident is regarded as closed." Benedict Arnold emerges as a more credible witness to truth than his partner in the northern enterprise. Mr. French is very deft in weaving the elements of the story together and only one criticism of his treat-

ment occurs to your reviewer. The author believes that the military authorities in the Continental Colonies and in Canada were not concerned over the possibility of rebellion and the rôle of Canada in it until 1773 or 1774. Yet as early as 1760 General Murray at Quebec saw clearly that Canada was "a guarantee for the good behaviour of its neighboring colonies." Haldimand had the same point of view and Carleton's share in framing the Quebec Act was actuated by the same motive. This lessens the dramatic suddenness of Mr. French's story, but does not affect it greatly in the main. The Harvard Press is to be congratulated on another fine piece of book-making.

In *Christian IV* (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1928. 320 pp. \$5.00) Mr. John A. Gade has drawn a lively and entertaining picture of the Danish King who remains his country's hero, in spite of having been the important agent in its catastrophic decline. Nowadays King Christian is chiefly remembered in Denmark for his building of castles, for his genuine paternalism, and for his personal heroism in the sea-battle of Femern against the Swedes. Only sober judgment recalls the facts that he was a failure in domestic and foreign politics, and, though a good fighter, bad both as a military and naval strategist. His entry into the Thirty Years' War was reckless and disastrous, and, completely failing to estimate the strength of seventeenth-century Sweden, he foolishly rejected the friendship which alone could have saved his country. Renaissance princes have a way of being remembered, however, and Christian was exuberantly the Renaissance prince. Mr. Gade owes the color of his book to the pageantry and display in which his hero delighted and wasted his country's substance. Indeed, the book is distinctly less useful than it might be in European history, except as a picture of a picturesque personality.

The Yale University Press has published for The Institute of Politics (Williamstown) *Aspects of British Foreign Policy*, by Sir Arthur Willet (New Haven, 1928. 141 pp. \$2.00). The author may be, as he describes himself, "an amateur lecturer," but he is Chief of the Press Bureau of the London Foreign Office and as such was really fulfilling the duties of his office at Williamstown. Naturally, his picture of British foreign policy is an ingratiating one, but it is so in the best sense, both technically and politically. His lectures are interesting and cleverly shaped, so that, while Britain's "best foot" is almost always forward, the reader is likely to forget that she has any other. Therefore, the book will repay reading only when the reader can bring some critical equipment with him.

Readings for Honors at Swarthmore, by Professor R. C. Brooks (Oxford University Press, New York, 1927. 196 pp. \$2.00), is the record of the first five years of an interesting and important experiment in American college education. The leverage of the General Education Board and the Carnegie Foundation and the influence of President Aydelotte have brought about at Swarthmore a scheme which permits the best students to work away under close direction without being slowed up to the rate of the average. The scheme owes something to the Continental tutorial system and something to the General Education Board's interest in the Toronto honor courses, but its record of adaptation to local circumstances makes it Swarthmore's own. The first five years have been successful, and it is interesting to discover that the difficulties inherent in such a method (languages are an example) have been solved in much the same way as practice has dictated elsewhere.

Professor Donnan's study of "The Slave Trade in South Carolina Before the Revolution" is concerned with economic rather than political aspects of the subject. The prices paid for negroes, commissions, the influence of the slave labor on prices, and on products are all traced with great accuracy and the results interpreted with scholarly acumen and presented in a most interesting manner (*American Historical Review* for July).

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

William G. Kimmel, Chairman

Teachers who wish to deal with the policies and issues advanced in the current campaign should procure the eleven research reports, issued and boxed under the title *Presidential Politics, 1928*, by Editorial Research Reports, 839 Seventeenth Street N. W., Washington, D. C. Facts are presented in an orderly and interesting manner on party campaign funds, platforms, prohibition, religious issue, and the influence of patronage. Price, \$3.50.

The same organization in June issued a report on "Public Utilities," "Propaganda in the Schools." Pertinent information from the hearings before the Federal Trade Commission on the activities in schools and colleges, and the replies to the charges, are summarized. Since many newspapers gave only meager accounts of the earlier hearings, teachers will find the pamphlet a source of handy information.

Kirby Page, in the October number of *The World Tomorrow* (32 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York), contributes "The Monroe Doctrine and World Peace." The writer sent a questionnaire containing eight questions to 950 citizens, of whom about 350 replied. The answers written by 301 persons were tabulated. At least one-half of these persons are nationally known; they include 61 editors, 13 college presidents, 148 college professors, 22 bishops and clergymen, and many persons in other professions and occupations.

That there is much confusion in the minds of the persons who answered the questionnaire is indicated by the fact that the number who answered "yes" and "no" to six questions is practically balanced. The answers to only two questions show unanimity of opinion. 226 persons agree that collective action by the United States, Canada, and the Latin-American countries should be substituted for armed intervention by the United States in dealing with difficulties. 192 persons believe that the Monroe Doctrine should be administered jointly by the Pan-American countries; 57 believe that it should be administered solely by the United States; 30 think it should be abandoned. The author includes some representative answers, and summarizes some of the arguments advanced.

Copies of the article may be obtained in the form of a pamphlet from the author, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. Price, 10 cents each, 75 cents per dozen, \$6.00 per hundred postpaid. In view of the uncertainty as to the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine, the many ramifications in interpretation since its original pronouncement, teachers may find the pamphlet useful for classroom use.

Teachers who wish a critical appraisal of the Monroe Doctrine, a summary of periodical literature concerning it, and summaries of similar studies are urged to read the chapter in James W. Garner's *American Foreign Policies* (New York University Press, Washington Square East, New York City).

In the August number of *The World Tomorrow*, Samuel Guy Inman contributes an article, "Why Pan-Americanism Fails." The writer examines the Pan-American Conference at Havana, and arrives at the conclusion that it was inconsequential in terms of results. The principal question, Nicaragua, was not mentioned until near the close of the Conference, although there were two brief discussions of intervention. Despite the fact that two hundred diplomats and technical advisers spent five weeks in sessions, little seems to have been accomplished because the delegation from the United States seems to have followed the formula "divide and rule." Illustrations are cited to show the two great weaknesses of our Latin-American friends—lack of ability to sink local differences in facing a great inclusive

issue (intervention) and insistence on the statement of a perfect theory instead of compromising on a practical formula which recognizes actual conditions.

Teachers of European history will wish to obtain a *Portfolio of Historical Illustrations of the Industrial Revolution*, prepared by a joint committee of the British Institute of Adult Education and the Tutors' Association. The set comprises forty-four illustrations, each on a separate 6 x 9½-inch card, with a suitable description. There is also a "Foreword" which explains the aim, uses, and sources of illustrations. The illustrations may be divided into five groups: (1) farming technique in the eighteenth century, (2) industry, (3) progress in communications, (4) commerce, and (5) aspects of the social life of the eighteenth century. Publishers, British Institute of Adult Education, 39 Bedford Square, London, W. C. 1, England. Price, including postage to the United States, \$2.40.

In the July 14th issue of *School and Society*, A. G. Crane contributes "Psychology of Citizenship Training." There are two basic false assumptions in citizenship training in many schools: (1) a narrow conception of citizenship, limiting it to knowledge of machinery of government and voting; (2) emphasis upon preaching in the presentation of information on right conduct.

Essentially it [citizenship] means harmonious and efficient team-work in society. Good citizens are good neighbors, good friends. The sum total of a man's social reactions determine his citizenship. His character, personality, his attitude toward public welfare are all parts of his citizenship.

Sound training in citizenship is based on the development of habits, standards, and ideals. The most important immediate objective is the acquisition of good habits through satisfying experiences. But habits must be supplemented by standards and ideals in order to afford flexibility of action. Standards can be acquired through decisions in social situations. Ideals are essentially abstractions which children acquire at a later period as an outgrowth of habits and standards and results, of understanding of satisfying experiences in social situations. Social personalities develop through total harmonious relationships of good habits, based on social standards which are illuminated and inspired by ideals. The teacher is the manipulator, creator, and director of social situations which are necessary for the development of integrated personalities.

J. S. Conner, in the August number of *The Texas Outlook* (Fort Worth), contributes a discussion of "Some Fundamentals of High School History Teaching." The fundamental aim of history teaching is "to make the world intelligible." All other aims are formulations of this fundamental, and many statements of aims include items common to other subjects. The teacher must have an accurate knowledge of the laws of psychology and apply them in the development of standards for study and for the recitation. The recitation should have two purposes: to make clear and to enlarge and interpret abstractions found in textbooks, and one duty of the teacher is to see that pupils gain an adequate understanding of these concepts.

There is also a discussion of the assignment, examinations and tests, reviews, and the place of drill in the teaching of history.

The July number of *The American Journal of Sociology* is devoted to a discussion of "Social Changes in 1927." There are nineteen articles, each written by a specialist in the field. The number of subjects considered ranges from

population, production, and natural resources through rural life, social and labor legislation, education, religion, and government. Each article includes a presentation of facts, usually presented in statistical form, together with an interpretation of facts and statement of trends and developments. Teachers of American history, modern problems, economics, and sociology at the high school level cannot afford to be without this number. Subscription, \$4.00 per year; single copies, 15 cents. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

One of the problems in the teaching of history which seems to deserve more attention is the degree of difficulty of the textbooks. Harold Jerome Fanning, in the September number of *Bulletin of High Points* (500 Park Avenue, New York City), reports "English Difficulties in the Study of History." The writer's classes kept a list of difficult words and phrases other than technical historical concepts, and more than 800 such words were found in one textbook. A partial list is included in the article. The writer concludes that: (1) while the textbook was typical, it presents language obstacles to pupils; (2) that there seems to be no attempt to adapt the language of the text to meet the needs of the pupils; (3) that polysyllabic words were often preferred when simpler words could have been used; (4) that teachers should insist upon the dictionary habit.

"The Case Method in Economics," as used in the High School of Commerce, New York City, is reported in the September number of *Bulletin of High Points*. The method involves the use of actual business and practical problems as the basis of classroom work. A copy of a mid-term examination in a course in Business Administration and Industrial Organization, based on the case method of instruction, is reprinted. Among the advantages claimed for the case method of teaching and testing, the following items are listed:

1. It is specific, concrete, and practical.
2. It is interesting and challenging.
3. It does not emphasize bookishness, but real living.
4. It co-ordinates and unifies not only the various phases of Economics, but other subjects as well.
5. Due to its live conditions and practical situations it creates an abiding interest in Economics.
6. It not only emphasizes memorization, but the highest mental powers.
7. It makes for individual mental independence.

Several of the high schools in New York City have organized and are using motion pictures as an integral part of instruction in courses in the social studies. Jacob Abraham, in the September number of *Bulletin of High Points*, contributes "A List of Motion Pictures for Use in Economic Geography." The titles of films, arranged under appropriate general headings, together with the special subjects, number of reels, and the source through which films may be obtained, are given. The list includes 51 titles.

In the September number of *Journal of Geography*, Lillian Upham Lawrence contributes an article entitled, "Better Method in Geography." The suggestions offered are intended for use at the fourth and fifth grade levels. The major feature of the article is a lesson plan divided into seven parts. In the same number J. H. Coleman presents "Practical Exercises in the Teaching of Geography." A copy of one test is given, and suggestions are offered concerning the use to be made of tests and test scores.

The July 14th number of *Information Service* (Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York) is entitled "Recent Events in China." A concise summary of events is presented.

The Institute of International Relations met at Seattle, July 22d-28th, with President von Kleinsmid, University of Southern California, as Chancellor, and Charles E. Mar-

tin, Head of Political Science Department, University of Washington, as Executive Secretary. Some of the speakers were: M. Zumato, Japan; M. Wu, China; Jose Vasconcelos, Mexico; Mr. Harada, Hawaii; Mr. Huston, Geneva. The winter meeting will be held at Riverside, Calif. It is the intention of the committee to hold the sessions at various places on the Pacific coast in order to interest people in Pacific affairs.

Among the proposed courses in the forthcoming social studies program for the Seattle High Schools is a semester course for the senior year which deals with Pacific history, including Central and South America, China, Japan, and Australia. There is also a semester course in Economics.

Courses of study recently received include: *Occupational Geography* for the Seventh Grade, Los Angeles (tentative printing); *American History Citizenship for the Eighth Grade*, Los Angeles (mimeographed); *Tentative Course of Study in Social Studies for Junior High School Grades*, Rochester, N. Y. (mimeographed); *Tentative Syllabus for History in the Elementary Schools, Grades 4-8*, New York State. Comments on these courses will probably be contributed later in these columns.

At the Hanover Conference of the Social Science Research Council it was decided that the first issue of Social Science Abstracts should appear in March, 1929. Only articles in periodicals will be abstracted in 1928, and books, monographs, and serials will not be included until the second year. It is estimated, therefore, that about 15,000 articles will be abstracted the first year. From these beginnings Social Science Abstracts will work toward inclusiveness. The yearly subscription rate is \$6.00, including annual indexes. Subscriptions and other communications may be sent to the Editor, F. Stuart Chapin, 611 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

Notes on Periodical Literature

BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH.D.

Naturally the current magazines are devoting much space to the coming elections, and to the qualifications of the various candidates. Of the leaders of the major parties, Governor Smith is receiving more attention from the September periodicals than is Mr. Hoover. Prof. William Bennett Munro contrasts him with President Andrew Jackson in the *October Century*. Both, he finds, are representing the newer America of their day, and both are challenging the old traditionalism. Governor Smith "has no war record of tribes subdued or of invaders repulsed. But he has a fine record of executive experience and it has made him as well known through the country as Jackson was."

In the *Living Age* for October, Jesse Isidor Strauss has an article entitled "The World Looks at Governor Smith," and quotes amusing excerpts from the foreign press concerning him. Press comment, he says, shows greater interest in his ancestry and religion. America's experiment with prohibition has been watched from the beginning with lively interest throughout Europe. It has given rise to much unfavorable comment, especially in the wine-producing countries, whose exports have suffered in consequence and who are naturally hoping for his election.

The Review of Reviews follows Mr. Hoover's own account of his services as Secretary of Commerce in the September number, with an article on "Smith as a Legislator" in the October issue. The summaries of his appointees are interesting. Of the 14 men forming his cabinet, 3 are Catholic, 10 Protestant, 1 Jewish, while 8 are Republican, 4 Democratic, and 2 Independent. Of the

major department heads, 11 are Catholic, 14 Protestant, and of these 8 are Republican, 14 Democrats, and 3 Independent. Of the 156 lesser officers, 33 were Catholic, 105 Protestant, 11 Jewish, 7 undescribed, while 72 were Republicans, 38 Democrats, and the rest undesignated.

Of all the studies on the personalities and qualifications of the two candidates, the outstanding one is that by "E. S.," in the *Atlantic* for October, entitled, "Studies in Temperament." The author, who unfortunately wishes to remain anonymous, thinks that "Mr. Hoover has received the Friends' inheritance of righteousness....Armageddon is no place for him. His battle-cry to his followers is to be as sober, as sensible, as industrious as he. Mr. Hoover's real difficulty is that he is a reasonable man in a very unreasonable cosmos....He has the scientist's passion for perfection....The market-place is an abomination to him....His idea of a social hour is one or two choice friends talking perfectibility....That Mr. Hoover is not a politician must be reckoned among his liabilities. These two, Hoover and Smith, are Plutarch's men. Oh, for a Plutarch to contrast them! Hoover, with his quiet, orderly ways; Smith, with his rough and ready ones; Hoover giving orders with his flat, low voice; Smith grunting them out with varying degrees of emphasis. Both are head and shoulders above the men about them, both really great administrators, one by reason, the other by instinct and the cogent power of proving by words what this instinct has taught him to be right....The lonelier the stream the happier Hoover as he whips it....Smith could concentrate while his secretary ran a riveting machine. He can knock men's heads together without losing his temper....Smith loves his fellows and understands them. The eccentricities and absurdities and unreasonableness which mark men from animals irritate Hoover. To Smith they are like the dyer's hand subdued to what it works in. Here are two honest men, fair-minded, free-minded....Hoover is absolutely honest, but when he speaks he counts the cost....But with Smith honesty means

courage and truth means candor....One other deep canyon divides the candidates. Smith is a new man. He speaks for the millions who have not learned all our ways....Not since Jackson torpedoed the Federalists has the stratified social consciousness of America felt the tremor that seems to precede the earthquake. The old order may close its ranks and withstand the shock. But the great forces are unchained....and sometime will have their way."

In the October *World's Work*, C. W. Thompson looks in the matter of "Who's Bolting and Why," and discovers that "There is bolting, a little of it in Maine and California, and a great deal of it in New Jersey, Oklahoma, Massachusetts, Tennessee, Wisconsin, Maryland....There is no one section on which the Republicans can calculate....they are as much worried about Wisconsin as they are about Massachusetts and they do not like the looks of things even in Pennsylvania. It is for that reason that, for the first time since 1892, they know they are in for a fight....The man responsible for this upset is Alfred Emanuel Smith. He is of course equally responsible for the torn-up calculations of the Democrats....In all the years of the Bryan blight, the Democrats had to face no bolt in the South, but they have got one on their hands now....Despite all this bolting, the real South will remain solid....On the border there is dangerous bolting and Kentucky and Tennessee are in doubt. So are Oklahoma and Missouri....A tremendous personality has entered politics in the nation to stir love and hatred, fear and hope as nobody has stirred men's emotions since Andrew Jackson and his rough bordermen marched on Washington from the valley of the Cumberland."

The effect the election of Governor Smith or of Mr. Hoover is the main theme of Mark Sullivan's "The Campaign Warms Up" in the October *World's Work*. Regarding the Volstead Act, he says: "The Volstead Act can be changed by a majority of Congress. An ironic-

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condition, but one that is natural in political psychology, is that the modification of the Volstead Act by Congress, instead of being facilitated by the election of Governor Smith, would probably be hampered by it. A majority of candidates for Congress and the Senate running on the Democratic ticket with Governor Smith are dry. Every candidate in the South is dry. They are running as dries with the tacit approval of Governor Smith." According to him in either event, the future of the status quo as regards prohibition is established.

The *Revue des Deux Mondes* for September 1st publishes an analysis of the Monroe Doctrine by M. Jules Cambon, in which he says that what was first of interest only to Americans now concerns the whole world. Since its first appearance it has been so altered, amplified, interpreted that it seems to have lost all connection with its original form or meaning. Its present aim seems to be to separate the world into compartments, where the strong will be masters and the result cannot but be international discord.

The policy of England in Egypt is rather sharply criticized by Arthur Ponsonby in his article on "Egypt Today," appearing in the current *Contemporary Review*. He concludes his arraignment by insisting that the Mother Country establish without reserve or qualification an independent autonomous Egypt. "The steps taken toward this end must be devised according to the best interests of the Egyptian people and consistent with the responsibility and obligation which our long sojourn in the country has for the time being imposed on us. Negotiations for a treaty of alliance must be conducted only with a responsible authority representative of a majority opinion in Egypt....Egypt must become a member of the League of Nations in order that the major issues which prove incapable of adjustment in bilateral negotiations may be submitted to that body for an impartial international verdict. With the right spirit and intentions, the right approach, and the right people as negotiators, it is not impossible that a solution can be found. Unfortunately, for the moment we have drifted far down the wrong road and time will be needed for us to retrace our steps and for Egypt to be restored to normal and regular conditions of government."

Books on History and Government published in the United States from Aug. 25, to Sept. 29, 1928

LISTED BY CHARLES A. COULOMB, PH.D.

AMERICAN HISTORY

- Adams, Randolph G. British headquarters maps and sketches used by Sir Henry Clinton while in command of the British forces operating in North America during the War for Independence, 1775-1782. A descriptive list. Ann Arbor, Mich.: William Clements Library. 150 pp. \$1.50.
- Allen, William H. Al Smith's Tammany Hall. N. Y.: Institute for Public Service, 53 Chambers St. 350 pp. \$2.50.
- Barker, Eugene C., and others. The growth of a Nation, the United States of America. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson. 734 pp. \$1.80.
- Bodley, Temple, and Wilson, S. M. History of Kentucky. 2 vols. Chicago: S. J. Clarke Pub. Co. 620, 730 pp. \$45.00.
- Clark, Imogen. Old days and old ways [Colonial America]. N. Y.: Crowell. 306 pp. (2 p. bibl.). \$2.00.
- Guide to Historic Plymouth. Plymouth, Mass.: A. S. Burbank. 95 pp. 25 cents.
- Preston, Howard W. The battle of Rhode Island, August 29, 1778. Providence: State of R. I. and Providence Plantations. 56 pp.
- Shannon, Fred A. The organization and administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865. 2 vols. Cleveland, O.: A. H. Clark Co. \$25.00.

- Williams, Samuel C. Early travels in the Tennessee country, 1540-1800. Johnson City, Tenn.: Watauga Press. 551 pp. \$5.00.

ANCIENT HISTORY

- Cleland, Herdman F. Our prehistoric ancestors. N. Y.: Coward-McCann. 395 pp. (13 p. bibl.). \$5.00.
- Gadd, Cyril J., and Legrain, Leon. Ur excavations texts. I. Royal inscriptions. Phila.: Univ. of Penna. 124 pp. \$15.00.
- Jouguet, Pierre. Macedonian imperialism and the Hellenization of the East. N. Y.: Knopf. 460 pp. (10 p. bibl.). \$6.50.
- Lofthouse, W. F. Israel after the exile, fifth and sixth centuries B. C. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Press. 280 pp. \$1.50.
- MacCurdy, George G. Prehistoric man [selected references]. Chicago: Amer. Lib. Assn. 45 pp. 35 cents.
- Parker, H. M. D. The Roman legions. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Press. 292 pp. \$5.00.

ENGLISH HISTORY

- Bowden, Witt. The industrial revolution. N. Y.: F. S. Crofts. 89 pp. (2 p. bibl.). 65 cents.
- Gwynn, Denis R. The Irish Free State, 1922-1927. N. Y.: Macmillan. 452 pp. \$4.50.
- Hakluyt, Richard. The Voyages, traffiques, and discoveries [etc.] contained in the Navigations, in 2 vols. [Hakluyt's Voyages, vs. 9 and 10.] N. Y.: Dutton. 481, 464 pp. \$3.00 each.
- Lascelles, E. C. P. Granville Sharp and the freedom of slaves in England. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Press. 160 pp. \$3.50.
- Tanner, J. R. English constitutional conflicts of the seventeenth century. N. Y.: Macmillan. 325 pp. \$6.00.
- Tough, D. L. W. The last years of a frontier; a history of the borders during the reign of Elizabeth. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Press. 328 pp. \$6.00.

EUROPEAN HISTORY

- Davies, H. A. An outline history of the world. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Press. 576 pp. \$2.50.
- Hyma, Albert. A short history of Europe, 1500-1815. N. Y.: F. S. Crofts. 508 pp. (18 p. bibl.). \$3.50.
- Mathiez, Albert. The French revolution. N. Y.: Knopf. 528 pp. \$5.00.
- Webster, Hutton. History of mankind. N. Y.: Heath. 712 pp. \$2.12.

THE WORLD WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

- Beaverbrook, William M. A., 1st baron. Politicians and the war, 1914-1916. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran. 326 pp. \$5.00.
- Cosmetatos, S. P. P. The tragedy of Greece [Allied policy in Greece during the World War]. N. Y.: Brentano's. 345 pp. \$4.50.
- Price, Morgan P. The economic problems of Europe, pre-war and after. N. Y.: Macmillan. 218 pp. \$3.50.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

- Bury, J. B. The invasion of Europe by the barbarians. N. Y.: Macmillan. 308 pp. \$5.00.
- Lamb, Harold. Tamerlane; the earth shaker. N. Y.: McBride. 340 pp. (16 p. bibl.). \$4.00.

MISCELLANEOUS

- Barnes, Charles C. Directive study sheets in American history for High School students. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 125 pp. 36 cents.
- Gruening, Ernest. Mexico and its heritage. N. Y.: Century Co. 747 pp. (26 p. bibl.). \$6.00.
- Rippy, James F. Mexico. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press. 246 pp. \$1.50.
- See, Henri. Economic interpretation of history. N. Y.: Adelphi Co. \$3.00.

BIOGRAPHY

- Mookerji, Radhakumurd. Asoka. N. Y.: Macmillan. 285 pp. \$8.40.
- Bibesco, Martha L. L. Royal portraits. N. Y.: Appleton. 239 pp. \$3.00.

- Richardson, Norval. The mother of Kings. [Story of Letizia Bonaparte.] N. Y.: Scribner. 471 pp. \$5.00.
- Camp, Charles L., editor. James Clyman, American frontiersman, 1792-1881. San Francisco, Calif.: Hist. Soc., 609 Sutter St. 251 pp. \$4.00.
- Bryan, George S. Edison, the man and his work. N. Y.: Garden City Pub. Co. 359 pp. (7 p. bibl.). \$1.00.
- Faris, John T. The romance of forgotten men. N. Y.: Harper. 327 pp. (4 p. bibl.). \$6.00.
- Farington, Joseph. The Farington diary, Vol. 7. June 10, 1811, to December 18, 1814. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran. 321 pp. \$7.50.
- Forsell, Nils. Fouché, the man Napoleon feared. N. Y.: Stokes. 255 pp. (6 p. bibl.). \$4.00.
- Drinkwater, John. Charles James Fox. N. Y.: Cosmopolitan Press. 389 pp. (4 p. bibl.). \$5.00.
- Steell, Willis. Benjamin Franklin of Paris, 1776-1785. N. Y.: Minton Balch. 233 pp. \$3.50.
- McFee, William. The life of Martin Frobisher. N. Y.: Harper. 290 pp. \$4.00.
- Boyd, Thomas A. Simon Girty, the white savage. N. Y.: Minton Balch. 252 pp. \$3.50.
- Harrison, Benjamin. A book about Benjamin Harrison, of Ighthan, Kent, made up principally of extracts from his [writings]. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Press. 412 pp. \$5.00.
- Reeves, Earl, and Hoover, H. C. This man Hoover. N. Y.: Burt. 255 pp. 75 cents.
- Belloc, Hilaire. James the second [King of England]. Phila.: Lippincott. 297 pp. \$4.00.
- Marcu, Valeriu. Lenin. N. Y.: Macmillan. 412 pp. \$5.00.
- Beveridge, Albert J. Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858; 2 vols. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. 635, 748 pp. (12 p. bibl.). \$12.50.
- Waterson, Nellie M. Mary II, Queen of England, 1689-1694. Durham, N. C.: Duke Univ. Press. 218 pp. (3 p. bibl.). \$2.50.
- Dibble, Roy F. Mohammed. Garden City, N. Y.: Garden City Pub. Co. 257 pp. \$1.00.
- Geer, Walter. Napoleon and his family, the story of a Corsican clan, Madrid-Moscow, 1809-1813. N. Y.: Brentano's. 399 pp. \$5.00.
- Smith, Mabel S. C. The story of Napoleon [for young people]. N. Y.: Crowell. 382 pp. \$2.50.
- Oxford and Asquith, H. H. Asquith, 1st earl of. Memories and reflections, 1852-1927; 2 vols. Boston: Little, Brown. 353, 326 pp. \$10.00.
- Poincaré, Raymond. The memoirs of Raymond Poincaré. Vol. 2, 1913-1914. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran. 341 pp. \$5.00.
- Federn, Karl. Richelieu. N. Y.: Stokes. 253 pp. \$4.00.
- Van Loon, Hendrik W. Life and times of Pieter Stuyvesant. N. Y.: Holt. 350 pp. \$4.00.
- Barton, William E. The father of his country. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 301 pp. \$2.00.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

- Headlam-Morley, Agnes. The new democratic constitutions of Europe. N. Y.: Oxford Univ. Press. 306 pp. \$3.50.
- Gettell, Raymond G. History of American political thought. N. Y.: Century Co. 642 pp. \$4.00.
- Higgins, Alexander P. Studies in international law and relations. N. Y.: Macmillan. 322 pp. \$5.00.
- Hutchison, David. The foundations of the Constitution. N. Y.: F. H. Hitchcock. 414 pp. \$3.50.
- Jessup, Philip C. American neutrality and international police. Boston: World Peace Foundation. 179 pp. \$1.25.
- Mair, L. P. The protection of minorities, the wording and scope of the minorities treaties under the League of Nations. N. Y.: Macmillan. 244 pp. \$3.50.
- Pergler, Charles. Judicial interpretation of international law in the United States. N. Y.: Macmillan. 230 pp. (3 p. bibl.). \$2.00.
- Wright, Quincy. The future of neutrality. N. Y.: Carnegie Endow. for Internat. Peace. 98 pp. 25 cents.

Historical Articles in Current Periodicals

COMPILED BY LEO F. STOCK, PH.D.

MISCELLANEOUS AND GENERAL

- The Law of Martial Rule. Charles Fairman (*American Political Science Review*, August).
- Ancient Mediterranean Agriculture, II. Ellen C. Semple (*Agricultural History*, July).
- Byzantine Imperialism in Egypt. A. E. R. Boak (*American Historical Review*, October).
- Hannibal and Rome. Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart (*Atlantic*, October).
- France and Italy in North Africa. C. A. Le Neven (*Foreign Affairs*, October).
- Dictatorship in Portugal. Luis Araquistain (*Foreign Affairs*, October).
- Syria, Yesterday and Today. H. C. Woods (*Contemporary Review*, September).
- The Northward Migration of the Chinese. W. H. Mallory (*Foreign Affairs*, October).

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

- Imperial History in the United States. R. G. Trotter (*Contemporary Review*, September).
- A Comparison of the Effects of the Black Death in the Economic Organization of France and England. Helen Robbins (*Journal of Political Economy*, August).
- The Marian Persecution. John Sinnott (*Month*, September).
- Charles II's Part in Governing England. Raymond Turner (*American Historical Review*, October).
- The Creations of Peers Recommended by the Younger Pitt. Gerda C. Richards (*American Historical Review*, October).
- George the Third and His Ministers. J. L. Hammond (*Contemporary Review*, September).
- Wellington's Surrender to the Catholics. Denis Gwynn (*Fortnightly*, September).
- The British Government and Neutral Rights, 1861-1865. J. P. Baxter, 3d (*American Historical Review*, October).
- The St. Lawrence in the Boundary Settlement of 1783. G. W. Brown (*Canadian Historical Review*, September).
- Canada's Political Status. J. S. Ewart (*Canadian Historical Review*, September).
- The Location of Fort Maurepas. N. M. Crouse (*Canadian Historical Review*, September).

GREAT WAR AND ITS PROBLEMS

- Fresh Light on Serbia and the War. M. E. Durham (*Contemporary Review*, September).
- Memories of 1914-1918. C. O. G. Douie (*Nineteenth Century*, September). VII. The Marshes of the Yser.
- The Greek Army and the Dardanelles. Thomas Cuninghame (*National Review*, September).
- Campbell of the "Q" Boats. Adm. Sir Lewis Bayly (*World's Work*, October).
- My Mystery Ships. Rear-Adm. Gordon Campbell (*World's Work*, October).
- Political Battles of the World War (continued). Lord Beaverbrook (*World's Work*, October). The decline and fall of Kitchener of Khartum.
- Military Lessons of the Great War. Maj.-Gen. Sir Frederick Maurice (*Foreign Affairs*, October).
- After Ten Years: Europe and America. H. F. Armstrong (*Foreign Affairs*, October).

UNITED STATES AND DEPENDENCIES

- Social History in American Literature. A. M. Schlesinger (*Yale Review*, Autumn).
- Local Government and Local History. William Anderson (*Minnesota History*, September).
- The Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. A. H. Hirsch (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September).

Political Leadership among North American Indians. Jessie Bernard (*American Journal of Sociology*, September).

Tradition of the Cheyenne Indians. J. H. Seger (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, September).

Our Ingrowing Habit of Lawlessness. W. E. Dodd (*Century*, October).

Turkish-American Treaty Relations. L. J. Gordon (*American Political Science Review*, August).

Historical Review: Champoege, the Plymouth Rock of the Northwest. P. H. D'Arcy (*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, September).

The Worshipful Simon Bradstreet, Governor of Massachusetts. W. A. Pew (*Essex Institute Historical Collections*, October).

Phippius Maximus. Viola F. Barnes (*New England Quarterly*, October). Gov. Sir William Phips.

Some Account of Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford. R. W. Hale (*New England Quarterly*, October).

Coast Forts in Colonial Connecticut. (*Coast Artillery Journal*, September.)

The English Settlers in Colonial Pennsylvania. W. F. Dunaway (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October).

Pennsylvania Literature of the Colonial Period. Nancy H. McCreary (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October).

The Continental Congress and Agricultural Supplies. E. C. Burnett (*Agricultural History*, July).

Edward Longworthy in the Continental Congress. E. C. Burnett (*Georgia Historical Quarterly*, September).

An American Experiment in Colonial Government. B. W. Bond, Jr. (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September). The Old Northwest.

Harry Innes and the Spanish Intrigue: 1794-1795. A. P. Whitaker (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September). With documents.

The Steamboat Period in Georgia. J. H. Goff (*Georgia Historical Quarterly*, September).

The Upper Mississippi Valley in Anglo-American Anti-Slavery and Free Trade Relations: 1837-1842. T. P. Martin (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September).

Promotion of Immigration to the Pacific Northwest by the Railroads. J. B. Hedges (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September).

The Oregonian Newspaper in Oregon History. L. M. Scott (*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, September).

Danish Settlement in Wisconsin. T. P. Christensen (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, September).

Pioneer and Political Reminiscences. N. P. Haugen (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, September).

More about Protestant Bodies in Missouri Territory. J. A. Hope (*Missouri Historical Review*, October).

The Development of Missouri's State Administrative Organization. Isidor Loeb (*Missouri Historical Review*, October).

When a Missourian Forced a Special Session of Congress. W. B. Stevens (*Missouri Historical Review*, October).

The History of Central Minnesota: a Survey of Unpublished Sources. Mary E. Wheelhouse (*Minnesota History*, September).

The Central Theme of Southern History. U. B. Phillips (*American Historical Review*, October).

The Vicksburg Campaign. Majs. Van Volkenburgh, Perkins, Stuart, and Hogan (*Coast Artillery Journal*, September).

The Birth of the Populist Party. J. D. Hicks (*Minnesota History*, September).

Grover Cleveland. W. G. Rice (*Century*, October). Intimate unpublished recollections.

The College Career of William Jennings Bryan. G. R. Poage (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September).

Historic Ships of the Navy (continued). R. W. Neeser (*U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, September). Brooklyn.

First Session of the Seventieth Congress. A. W. Macmahon (*American Political Science Review*, August).

The Mystery of Lafitte's Treasure. J. F. Dobie (*Yale Review*, Autumn).

Our Navy and the West Indian Pirates (continued). G. W. Allen (*Essex Institute Historical Collections*, October).

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, OF THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, published monthly, except June, July, August, and September at Philadelphia, Pa., for October 1, 1928.

County of Philadelphia,
State of Pennsylvania,

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Alfred C. Willits, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

Publisher, MCKINLEY PUBLISHING CO., 1623 Ranstead St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Editor, ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, 6901 Germantown Ave., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.

Managing Editor, ALBERT E. MCKINLEY, 6901 Germantown Ave., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.

Business Manager, ALFRED C. WILLITS, 110 W. Johnson St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.

2. That the owners are (give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent. or more of the total amount of stock).

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of September, 1928.

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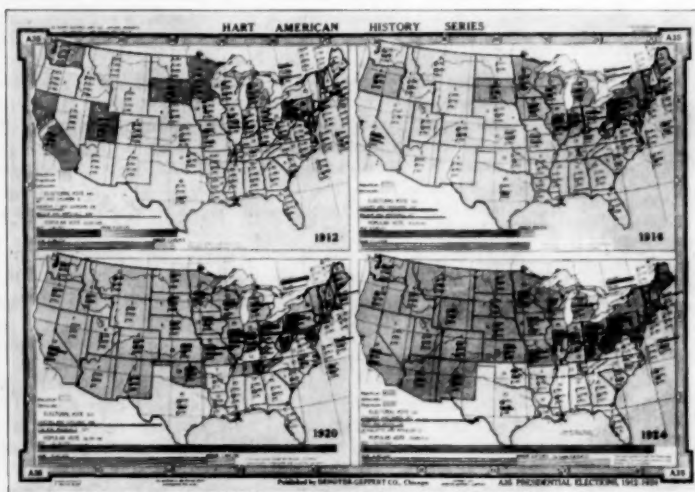
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